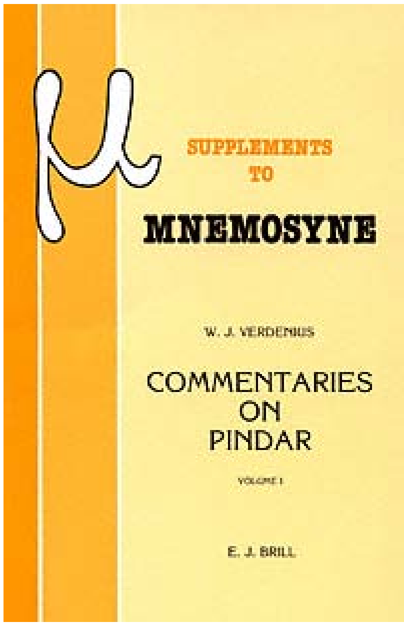

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W. J. VERDENIUS

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VOLUME I

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Commentaries on Pindar

Volume I, Olympian Odes 3, 7, 12, 14

By
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Emeritus Professor of Greek Language and Literature in the University of Utrecht

LEIDEN E. J. BRILL 1987

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PREFACE

The selection of the texts commented upon in this volume is a comparatively arbitrary one: the Olympian odes 3, 7, 12, 14 do not have striking similarities or special interrelations. On the other hand, they contain so many peculiarities of language, style, thought, and composition that they may be considered representative of the poet's art. From this point of view, the present selection may serve as an introduction to the study of Pindar's work.

The comments on *O.* 7, 12, and 14 have been originally published in Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde N.R. 35:2 (1972), Mnemosyne IV 29 (1976), 243-53, *Zetesis: Album amicorum E. de Strycker* (Antwerp-Utrecht 1973), 332-41, and Mnemosyne IV 32 (1979), 12-38. They have been thoroughly revised and considerably enlarged. The commentary on *O.* 3 has not been published before.

I am indebted to Professor S. L. Radt for some critical remarks and additional references concerning *O.* 3, and to Dr. M. van der Valk for some helpful observations on *O.* 14.

Vol. II will contain commentaries on *O.* 1, 10, 11, *N.* 11, and *I.* 2. I hope to add a third volume on *P.* 1, 8, and 10.

Zeist W. J. V.

ABBREVIATIONS

Anastase — S. Anastase, *Apollon dans Pindare* (Athens 1975).
Barkhuizen — J. H. Barkhuizen, *Etymologisering by Pindaros* (Diss. Pretoria 1975).
Barkhuizen, *Patterns* — J. H. Barkhuizen, *Structural Patterns in Pindar's Seventh Olympian Ode*, Acta Class. 11 (1968), 25-37.
Becker — O. Becker, *Das Bild des Weges und verwandte Vorstellungen im frühgriechischen Denken* (Hermes Einzelschr. 4, Berlin 1937).
Becker, *Glück* — O. Becker, *Pindars Olympische Ode vom Glück*, Ant. 16 (1940), 38-50.
Bernard — M. Bernard, *Pindars Denken in Bildern* (Pfullingen 1963).
Bern. — P. Angeli Bernardini, *Mito e attualità nelle odi di Pindaro* (Rome 1983).
Bo. — C. M. Bowra, *Pindari carmina* (Oxford 1935).
Bo. — C. M. Bowra, *The Odes of Pindar* (Harmondsworth 1969).
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Braswell — B. K. Braswell, *Notes on the Prooemium to Pindar's Seventh Olympian Ode*, Mnem. IV 29 (1976), 233-42.
Br. — A. Bresson, *Mythe et contradiction. Analyse de la VIIe Olympique de Pindare* (Paris 1979).
Brown — C. Brown, *The Bridegroom and the Athlete: The Proem to Pindar's Seventh Olympian*, in D. E. Gerber (ed.), *Greek Poetry and Philosophy: Studies in Honour of L. Woodbury* (Chico 1984), 37-50.
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Chantraine — P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris 1968-80).
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Denn. — J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* ([2]Oxford 1954).
Dodds — E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1951).
Dönt — M. Dönt, *Zur 14. olympischen Ode Pindars*, RhM 126 (1983), 126-35.
Dorns. — F. Dornseiff, *Pindars olympische Hymnen* (Leipzig 1938).
Dorns., *P.S.* — F. Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil* (Berlin 1921).
Duchemin — J. Duchemin, *Pindare, poète et prophète* (Paris 1955).
Duchemin, *Orient* — J. Duchemin, *Pindare et l'Orient: le mythe de la VIIe Olympique*, in *Mélanges E. Delebecque* (Aix-en-Provence 1983), 111-30.
Farn. — L. R. Farnell, *The Works of Pindar* (London 1930-2).
Farnell, *Cults* — L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford 1896-1909).
Fehling — D. Fehling, *Die Wiederholungsfiguren und ihr Gebrauch bei den Griechen vor Gorgias* (Berlin 1969).
Fenn. — C. A. M. Fennell, *Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes* ([2]Cambridge 1893).

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Fränkel — H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums* ([2]Munich 1962).
Fränkel, *W.u.F.* — H. Fränkel, *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens* ([2]Munich 1960).
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Gerber — D. E. Gerber, *Pindar's Olympian One: A Commentary* (Toronto-Buffalo-London 1982).
Gervais — J. Gervais, *La quatorzième olympique de Pindare*, L'enseignement secondaire au Canada 10 (1940), 448-59.
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Gild. — B. L. Gildersleeve, *Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes* (London 1907).
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Jur. — H. Jurenka, *Pindars erste und dritte olympische Ode*, Jahresber. Gymn. Wien 1893-94, 18-24.
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Köhnken, *Third Olympian* — A. Köhnken, *Mythical Chronology and Thematic Coherence in Pindar's Third Olympian Ode*, HSCP 87 (1983), 49-63.
K.G. — R. Kühner — B. Gerth, *Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, II: *Satzlehre* (Hannover 1898-1904).
KP — K. Ziegler — W. Sontheimer (edd.), *Der kleine Pauly* (Stuttgart 1964-75).
Latt. — R. Lattimore, *The Odes of Pindar* (Chicago 1947).
Lawall — G. Lawall, *The Cup, the Rose, and the Winds in Pindar's Seventh Olympian*, RFIC 39 (1961), 33-47.
Le. — L. Lehnus, *Pindaro, Olimpiche* (Milan 1981).
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Lex.frühgr.Ep. — B. Snell *et al.*, *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, fasc. 1-10 (Göttingen 1955-82).
LSJ — H. G. Liddell — R. Scott — H. Stuart Jones — R. McKenzie, *Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford 1925-40).
Maehler — H. Maehler, *Die Auffassung des Dichterberufs im frühen Griechentum* (Göttingen 1963).
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Thummer, *Religiosität* — E. Thummer, *Die Religiosität Pindars* (Innsbruck 1957).
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Vian — F. Vian, review of my commentary on *O.* 7, Rev.Phil. 48 (1974), 334-5.
Viljoen — G. van N. Viljoen, *Pindaros se tiende en elfde Olympiese odes* (Leiden 1955).
We. — O. Werner, *Pindar, Siegesgesänge und Fragmente* (Munich 1967).
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INTRODUCTION

The study of Pindar has made a considerable progress in recent years, but it cannot be said that the right approach to his poetry has now been definitely established. Such an approach is even hampered by a tendency which threatens to develop into a new kind of dogmatism. The search for unity in Pindar's poems, which in the nineteenth century centred in the assumption of a 'Grundgedanke' [1], now focuses on "the interconnection and interdependence of recurrent and developed ideas, thoughts, words, and images" [2]. This point of view seems to imply the belief in organic unity, a principle which is difficult to reconcile with Pindar's method as described by himself (*P.* 10, 53-4): ἐγκωμίων γὰρ ἄωτος ὕμνων/ἐπ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον ὥτε μέλισσα θύνει λόγον [3]. It is true that the frequent transition to new subjects does not exclude organic composition. But the formula ἄλλοτε ἄλλος emphasizes diversity and variation, not unity [4] and connection, and a bee does not work according to a premeditated plan, but chooses its next object from its present and momentary position. It has been objected that *P.* 10, 53-4 has a special function within the context of that poem and should not be generalized [5]. I admit that the maxim is closely connected with the principle of καιρός as a means of preventing κόρος (cf. Schwenn, 10-1), but this does not rule out the fact that variety occupies a central place in Pindar's conception of art (see my note on *O.* 3, 8 ποικιλόγαρυν). The same pursuit of variety appears from *P.* 11, 41-2 Μοῖσα, τὸ δὲ τεόν ... φωνὰν ... ἄλλοτ' ἄλλᾳ ταρασσέμεν, and diversity is also emphasized in the description of the Muse as joining gold, ivory and coral at *N.* 7, 77, a comparison well explained by Webster: "The jeweller's work is fine, precise, and elaborate ... the transition from sec-

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[1] The history of this belief has been admirably described by D. C. Young in his essay *Pindaric Criticism* included in W. M. Calder III and J. Stern (edd.), *Pindaros und Bakchylides* (Darmstadt 1970), 1 ff. Cf. also Köhnken, 1 ff.

[2] Young, *op cit.*, 35. Cf. 27: "Mezger's theory of the recurrent word is basically correct (though not in the form in which he gave it) and, I believe, is the greatest single aid for an understanding of a Pindaric ode".

[3] For λόγος 'subject-matter' cf. LSJ III.

[4] The fact that a bee continuously looks for the same honey, as is pointed out by S. L. Radt, Lampas 13 (1980), 401, does not seem to me relevant in this connection.

[5] Cf. Illig, 18-9, who argues that the maxim does not express a principle of composition: "es stellt vielmehr einen typischen Abbruch des Mythos vor der Rückkehr zum Programm dar und gilt allein von der Verpflichtung des Epinikiendichters, innerhalb des Liedes mannigfache, oft disparate Inhalte zu verknüpfen".

tion to section is emphasized, and the poem becomes a series of carefully framed pictures instead of a continuous forward movement''[6].

It has further been suggested[7] that the mere fact that Pindar emphasized the transition, however abrupt this transition was, shows him to be concerned with the unity of the poem. I do not believe this; the formulas of interruption and transition only show the poet to be conscious and proud of his method of composition. Schmid (605) rightly speaks of ''seine selbstherrliche Persönlichkeit mit ihren wechselnden Einfällen und ihrem Drang, sich geltend zu machen''.

The question why Pindar did not care very much about the unity of his poems has been admirably answered by Fränkel (*W.u.F.*, 368-9): ''das Epinikion nimmt den frischen Sieg in die bestehende Wertewelt auf und deutet ihn in ihrem Sinne. Diese Wertewelt wird ... repräsentativ dargestellt durch Beispiele aus ihren wichtigsten Bereichen: dem Bereich des Göttlichen, des Mythischen, der normensetzenden Erkenntnis (Gnomik), des Musischen (Preis der Dichtkunst ...), und anderen. Da jeder Bereich grundsätzlich nur durch ein beliebiges Paradeigma vertreten zu sein braucht, ist zwischen den Elementen des Gedichts keine spezielle Gedankeneinheit gefordert, und der Übergang von einem zum anderen kann sprunghaft sein....In der Einheit dieser Wertewelt, also überwiegend ausserhalb jedes Gedichts, liegt die Einheitlichkeit der Gedichtstoffe. Die Lieder handeln von etwas Geschlossenem, bringen aber die Geschlossenheit nicht anders als paradeigmatisch in wechselnden Einzelbeziehungen der Einzelelemente (Übergängen) zum Ausdruck''[8].

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[6] T. B. L. Webster, *Greek Art and Literature 530-400 B.C.* (Oxford 1939), 22-3. Similarly J. Pouilloux, Rev.Phil. 44 (1970), 206 and n.1: ''Pindare composait ses récits en métopes comme les sculpteurs construisaient leurs décors aux frises des temples doriques...Les descriptions de Pindare sont toujours conçues et présentées de manière discontinue, fragmentée''. See also Schmid, 604-5, and Snell, 89, who speaks of ''ein mosaikartiges Muster''.

It is misleading to call *N.* 7, 77 ''un armonico intreccio di diversi elementi'', as is done by P. Bernardini, QUCC 2 (1966), 146. She further refers to *O.* 6, 86-7 πλέκων / ποικίλον ὕμνον and fr. 179 ὑφαίνω ... ποικίλον ἄνδημα, but omits to account for ποικίλον. Snell (90) points out that ''wie beim Geflochtenen etwas verschwindet, wieder auftaucht, wie dadurch Entsprechungen und Gegensätze entstehen, so tauchen auch bei Pindar Motive verstreut und getrennt im Gedicht auf, die doch zusammengesehen sein wollen'', but he rightly adds the remark, ''die Teile sind nicht die subordinierten und dienenden Glieder eines organischen Ganzen''.

[7] By P. H. Schrijvers, in a private letter.

[8] Cf. Snell, 90: ''Pindar liegt weniger daran, ein Geschehen lückenlos und genau zu verfolgen, noch will er 'auf etwas hinaus', er will keinen Gedanken entwicklen oder dergleichen. Schon seine Gedankenführung hält das Gefühl dafür lebendig, dass alles Einzelne verflochten ist mit dem Ganzen''.

These theoretical considerations are confirmed by a critical examination of the practical results of the new criticism. Recurrence of words is rashly considered to be a sign of interconnection, and 'motifs' and 'patterns' are constructed out of superficial resemblances. Thus 'close reading' has turned out to lead to 'hyper-interpretation', and Jurenka's admonition (WS 17, 1895, 1), "so gilt es vor allem, das wuchernde Geranke, das die Hyperexegese getrieben, mit kühnem Messer abzuschneiden", has become relevant again. Some useful work of this kind has already been done[9]. The most efficient way, however, seems to be the application of a truly philological method in a running commentary[10].

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[9] E.g. in the reviews of R. Hamilton, *Epinikion: General Form in the Odes of Pindar* (The Hague 1974), M. Lefkowitz, *The Victory Ode* (Park Ridge, N.J. 1976), C. Greengard, *The Structure of Pindar's Epinician Odes* (Amsterdam 1980).

[10] The above remarks might create the impression that the main purpose of the commentary is a negative one. In reality I have aimed at a positive understanding of Pindar's words, but in order to establish a reasonable degree of probability one has to subject dissenting views to a critical examination.

OLYMPIAN 3

Date

The ode refers to a victory gained in 476 and also celebrated in *O.* 2 (cf. Bowra, 408). Farn. assumes that *O.* 2, 97 alludes to "interruptions that disturbed the performance of the third Olympian", but that passage is a *topos*, viz. backbiting inspired by envy (e.g. *O.* 1, 47, *P.* 1, 84, *P.* 2, 76, *P.* 11, 28-9).

Metre

The dactyloepitrites do not present special problems, except the responsion of epitrite and choriambus, which will be discussed in the commentary on 35 βαθυζώνου[1].

Composition

The composition of the poem has been well analysed by van Groningen (351-2). His conclusion deserves to be quoted: "L'ode ne constitue pas une unité: la réalité et la vision subsistent indépendemment l'une de l'autre: le fil qui les retient est purement extérieur; il n'y a qu'enchaînement; il n'y a pas d'intégration". Cf. also Schadewaldt, 43-4, Schwenn, 249-50, 254. Köhnken (*Third Olympian*, 63) thinks that "the key theme of 'chariot and horses' runs through the ode", but his assumption of allusions to this theme at 19 χρυσάρματος, 23 χῶρος ... Πέλοπος, 30 'Ορθωσίας is unconvincing: see notes *ad loc.* It is true that 26 ἱπποσόα suggests some connection with chariot races, and that at 33 and 37 Pindar narrows the theme of the Olympic games to the chariot race, obviously to pave the way for a return to Theron's victory. But this device still is 'enchaînement', not integration.

The structure of the myth has also been a subject of discussion. Schwenn's interpretation of 13 (τάν)-15 as "Themastellung" and 16 as "beginnende Erzählung" has been combated by Jaufmann (37-8), who takes 13-18 as "eine vorweggenommene Zusammenfassung des Mythos". Such speculations about the question where the myth, or the narration, begins are fruitless: Pindar does not care about rigid divisions, and even 11 ἐφετμὰς 'Ηραχλέος προτέρας and 36-8 (διφρηλασίας) may be said to belong to the myth. It is equally useless to look for a special unity of the myth, as is done by A. Barigazzi, A & R N.S.2 (1952), 133, who

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[1] The observations made by L. Pearson, ICS 2 (1977), 64 ff., on correspondence in word-arrangement, rhythm and tonic accentuation do not appeal to me.

argues that "tutto converga verso l'atteggiamento di Eracle ritto, pieno di meraviglia, davanti ai bellissimi olivi degli Iperborei", and that the poetic value of the myth depends on this culminating point. It is true that Pindar emphasizes the purpose of the myth (33-4), but not all the details are centred round this theme. W. J. Slater, CJ 72 (1977), 195, maintains "that myth is a form of argument, that almost every example of its use from Homer onwards is an exemplum". But Pindar's narration of a myth often develops into an epic tale which is to be enjoyed for its own sake. Segal's analysis of the ode is a beautiful construction based on a fusion of vitalism, romanticism, and aestheticism, but it goes far beyond the data of the text: see further below, on 3 ἀκαμαντοπόδων.

Commentary

1: Τυνδαρίδαις. Strictly speaking only Castor was a son of Tyndareus: see below, on 14 Ἀμφιτρυωνιάδας. The Dioscuri were worshipped in many Dorian towns (Farnell, *Hero Cults*, 175 ff.). Their prominent position in this poem is based on their role as horsemen (39, *P.* 1, 66, *P.* 5, 9) and on the fact that Emmenides, the ancestor of the Emmenidae, was descended from Polydeuces (alluded to at 38). According to Pausanias (V 15, 4), the Dioscuri had an altar near the hippodrome at Olympia, but this evidence does not justify us to call them ἐναγώνιοι θεοί (as is done by Fenn., Jur., Gild.), nor to assume a "allgemeine Anschauung von den Dioskuren als Helfern im agonalen Wettkampf" (Bernard, 76 n. 45). Wil. (238) seems to be right in suggesting that their general patronage of the Olympic games was invented by Pindar in order to join the celebration of Theron's victory to that of the Theoxenia.

I doubt whether Fränkel (494) is right in thinking that "die ältesten Epinikien waren eben in erster Linie Hymnen zu Ehren der Dioskuren oder andrer Götter und Heroen, und der menschliche Preisträger wurde nur nebenbei genannt und gerühmt". He refers to *P.* 2, 69 τὸ Καστόρειον, but this term is not "einfach gleichbedeutend mit ἐπινίκιον": cf. Gild. *ad loc.*: "The Kastoreion was an old Spartan battle-song, the rhythm anapaestic, like the ἐμβατήρια, the mood Doric, the accompaniment the flute". *I.* 1, 16 Καστορείῳ ... ἐναρμόξαι μιν ὕμνῳ does not point to a historical development either.

Robbins (*Intimations*, 223-4) thinks that the Dioscuri were "ideal emblems" for Theron and his brother Xenocrates, but the fact that both excelled in hospitality (*O.* 3, 40, *I.* 2, 39-40) and the fact that they won joint victories (*O.* 2, 49-50) do not form a sufficient basis for such a speculation. It is equally misleading to call Heracles and the Dioscuri "the pre-eminent mediators between mortality and immortality" (226), for intimations of immortality, such as *O.* 2, 56 ff., are quite absent from

O. 3. It is true that the olive-crown has a sacred character (see below, on 13 ἐλαίας), but this does not warrant the conclusion that "the olive-crown that Theron has won assimilates him, still in this world, to those who dwell in the Isles of the Blessed and to the Hyperboreans, similarly crowned" (227).

1: φιλοξείνοις. The ode is commonly assumed to have been performed during the Theoxenia, but 34 ταύταν (see below, *ad loc.*) does not support this view. Farn. (similarly Schwenn, 248) regards it as intended to be sung in a procession to the temple of the Dioscuri, but Pindaric odes are much too complicated to be performed and understood during processions. The performance probably took place in front of the temple and may have preceded the feast of Theoxenia. H. Fränkel, Hermes 89 (1961), 394-7, argues that the Dioscuri are invoked only as patrons of athletic contests, but Robbins (*Intimations*, 219-20) rightly points out that the mention of Helen makes sense only when she participates in the Theoxenia (cf. E.*Hel.* 1666-9). He further remarks that the celebration of a victor is connected with a religious festival e.g. in *O.* 9 and *P.* 11. See also below, on 6 ἀγλαόκωμον.

The epithet does not designate the Dioscuri as hosts of the other gods (as is assumed by Me., Fenn., Jur., Gild., Farn., Segal, 264 n.89), for it appears from 40 ξεινίαις τραπέζαις that they were guests: for parallels cf. Nilsson, 409-10[2]. Gild. maintains that "the Dioskuroi were in an especial manner gods of hospitality", but nothing is known about such a function. H. Fränkel, Hermes 89 (1961), 395 n.2, suggests that φιλοξείνοις anticipates 39-40 (similarly Gal., Köhnken, *Third Olympian*, 60), but in the latter passage they act as (grateful) guests rather than as hosts. Segal (239) even maintains that "the mood of kindly reception pervades the poem from beginning to end" and speaks of a "theme of a benevolent receiving", but 17 πανδόκῳ and 27 δέξατο do not refer to hospitality in a strict sense. It seems more realistic to assume that Pindar flatters the Dioscuri by transferring Theron's hospitality (cf. *O.* 2, 93-4) to the gods of his town. For hospitality as a *topos* of praise cf. *O.* 1, 16-7, *O.* 4, 19, *N.* 5, 8, *N.* 11, 8, Viljoen, 23-4 n.31, Gund., 33 ff.

1: ἁδεῖν. Fenn. and Gild. print ἀδεῖν. For the Aeolic psilosis cf. B. Forssman, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache Pindars* (Wiesbaden 1966), ch.I, and the review by S. L. Radt, Gnom. 41 (1969), 408-9. The MSS. usually have the unaspirated forms (cf. Schr., *Prol.*, 15), but it is difficult to decide whether these are original. Homer has ἅδε as well as εὔαδε (Chantraine, *Gramm. hom.*, I, § 74).

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[2] Cf. also W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion* (Stuttgart 1977), 175-6.

The aorist can be used with regard to the future because it is temporally neutral, while the reference to the future is implied in εὔχομαι. Editors often correct -σασθαι into -σεσθαι, but cf. Hom.Γ 98-9 φρονέω δὲ διακρινθήμεναι ἤδη / Ἀργείους καὶ Τρῶας, χ 35 οὔ μ' ἔτ' ἐφάσκεθ' ὑπότροπον οἴκαδ' ἱκέσθαι. See further K.G.I, 195-7, Schw. II, 296, Wackernagel, *Vorl. ü. Synt.*, I, 176-7, Cunningham on Herod. 4, 69.

1: καλλιπλοκάμῳ. A conventional epithet of goddesses and heroines, wrongly taken by Segal (238) to invoke an "atmosphere of gentle beauty, flowing from the coherence and harmony between the divine and human worlds": see below, on 3 ἀκαμαντοπόδων.

1: Ἑλένᾳ. She had a cult at Rhodes (cf. Nilsson I, 315), from where Agrigentum had been founded.

2: κλεινὰν ... γεραίρων. For this *topos* cf. Thummer, Ch. IV ('Das Lob der Heimat des Siegers'). See also B. Snell, *Dichtung und Gesellschaft* (Hamburg 1965), 120 ff.

2: κλεινάν. Le. takes this to be used attributively and predicatively at the same time, but such parallels as *O.* 6, 6, *O.* 9, 14, *N.* 1, 2, fr. 76, 2 show that the word is a conventional attribute.

2: γεραίρων. 'Celebrating': cf. *I.* 8, 62, LSJ II.

2: εὔχομαι. Not 'I am confident' (Farn., Latt.) but 'I pray', for Pindar's attitude towards divine beings uses to be modest: cf. e.g. *O.* 14, 5 κλῦτ', ἐπεὶ εὔχομαι. For the difference between εὔχομαι and λίσσομαι see note on *O.* 12, 1 λίσσομαι. For the hymnic style of the opening sentence cf. H. Meyer, *Hymnische Stilelemente in der griechischen Dichtung* (Würzburg 1933), 54 ff., who is wrong, however, in thinking that it has only a literary purpose (55: "Man will dem Liede ein 'weithin strahlendes Antlitz' [*O.* 6, 3-4] geben"): Theron owes his victory to the grace of the Dioscuri (39), and so the victory ode celebrates them as well as the victor (cf. Schmid, 599 and n.11).

The sequel (4 νεοσίγαλον εὑρόντι τρόπον) shows that the first person refers to the poet, not to the poet and the chorus (Le.).

3: Ὀλυμπιονίκαν. No enallage, as is assumed by Gild., Gal., K.G.I, 263, V. Bers, *Enallage and Greek Style* (Leiden 1974), 45-6, for the meaning is 'referring to an Olympian victory': cf. *P.* 6, 5 Πυθιόνικος ... ὕμνων θησαυρός (which is a true case of enallage). See further E. Williger, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu den Komposita der griechischen Dichter des 5. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen 1928), 22-3, who compares *I.* 5, 54 καλλίνικον χάρμα.

3: ὀρθώσαις. Fenn.'s comment, "the aorist gives the cause of which γεραίρων expresses the effect", is misleading, for the use is truly coincident: cf. K.G.I, 199, II, 86, Schw.II, 301, Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 289. Gild. notes: "Simply 'raising', without any side-notion of column (*O.* 7, 86)

or statue (*I.* 1, 46)'', but such parallels as *O.* 6, 1-4, *P.* 6, 7, *N.* 4, 81, *N.* 8, 46 strongly suggest that an architectural metaphor is meant. See further Dorns., *P.S.*, 57-8, Gund., 127 n. 220, Bowra, 20-2. For the poet as τέκτων (*P.* 3, 113) see further my remarks in Mnem. IV 36 (1983), 17. I do not believe that the participle refers to the νόμος ὄρθιος, nor that it has the overtone of ''making a song morally 'right' '' (Segal, 264 n.93)[3].

3: **ἀκαμαντοπόδων.** Segal (231) thinks that ''Pindar mollifies the forceful connotations of the horse'' by adding ἄωτον (but see below, *ad loc.*). He compares the content of 39 εὐίππων and concludes that ''the warlike possibilities of the horses, too, are thus set into a context of festivity and benevolence''. It is true that ὠκύπους is used of horses by Homer in warlike contexts, but their swiftness as such does not have a warlike connotation, as appears e.g. from Hom. δ 484 τὼ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην. Segal is led astray by his preconception of the ode as containing ''a dualism of forces'', viz. ''an antinomy between the violence and gentleness of the hero, the harshness and benignity of nature and the gods'' (228). He thinks that the ode is dominated by a ''spirit of reconciliation'' (237) culminating in the idea that ''the Olympian festival ... celebrates the potential harmony between the wild, but life-charged, vitality of nature and the order of human civilization'' (239). He admits (228) that the chase of the hind (28-9) is ''the one explicit element of violence in the ode'', but he adds touches of violence by forced and arbitrary interpretations, e.g. by calling 24 ὀξείαις ''potential violence'' (see below, *ad loc.*) and deep valleys (27) ''wild'' (*ibid.*). On the other hand, he overstresses the gentle and civilized aspects of Heracles' character: it is true that 16 πείσαις ... λόγῳ implies an idealization (see below, *ad loc.*), but Segal makes the hero ''respond sympathetically to the beauties of the world'' (229), and he even draws a parallel between his aesthetic outlook and that of the poet: ''His task, like that of the hero in the ode, is to communicate to men the beauty accessible to them in the world'' (242; similarly 243-4)[4]. It is misleading to say, however, that Pindar emphasizes ''the beauty of the olive crown'' (229), for 14 κόσμον (see below, *ad loc.*) and 15 κάλλιστον refer to intrinsic value rather than

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[3] Th. Hoey, HSCP 70 (1965), 251, writes: ''The passage seems to have a clear symbolic unity, for so much of it has to do with standing and with uprightness and with feet''. This is a striking example of the perverse hunting after unity which spoils so much of modern literary criticism. In reality, ὀρθώσαις, παρέστα (4), and πεδίλῳ have nothing to do with each other.

[4] For Segal's aestheticism cf. also 245, where he interprets the journeys mentioned in the poem as a form of contact with the beauty of the world (see also below, on 10 νίσονται), and 246, where he maintains that ''the contests of *O.* 3 ... are seen ... as the adornment of the already established and ritually celebrated beauty of the world''.

to outward beauty. Similarly, 23 καλά and 32 θάμβαινε primarily refer to the bigness and the foliage of the trees: Heracles' outlook is a practical one. His care for shadow (14, 18) is an expression of benificence, but Segal certainly goes too far in calling this a "life-fostering purpose" and associating it with fertility (229)[5]. See further above, on 1 φιλοξείνοις and καλλιπλοκάμῳ, and below, on 4 ἄωτον and νεοσίγαλον, 7 χρέος, 13 ἐλαίας, 16 Ὑπερβορέων and Ἀπόλλωνος, 19 χρυσάρματος, 24 ὑπακουέμεν, 27 δέξατο, 32 γλυκύς.

4: ἄωτον. Not 'choicest honour to' (Sand., Pu., LSJ, We., Gal., Bo., Thummer, 85, Jaufmann) but 'finest product of' (Me., Fenn., Jur.)[6]. Similarly *O.* 8, 75 χειρῶν ἄωτον ... ἐπίνικον. For ἵππων as a *genitivus auctoris* cf. *O.* 12, 15 τιμὰ ποδῶν ('gained by'), *O.* 13, 36 αἴγλα ποδῶν, *P.* 1, 59 ποινὰν τεθρίππων, *N.* 11, 27 ἑορτὰν Ἡρακλέος ('established by'), *I.* 2, 34 τιμὰς Ἑλικωνιάδων, K.G.I, 332-3, Schw. II, 119, and my note on E. *Ba.* 8, Mnem. IV 33 (1980), 2. R. Renehan, *Studies in Greek Texts* (Göttingen 1976), 50-2, argues that the genitive is partitive, as at *P.* 10, 53 ἄωτος ὕμνων and *N.* 8, 9 ἡρώων ἄωτοι, and that ἄωτον is the object of ὕμνον ὀρθώσαις equivalent to ὑμνήσαις. This interpretation breaks down on the fact that ὕμνον is qualified by Θήρωνος.

The original meaning of ἄωτος seems to be 'down', 'fluff', 'nap' of wool or linen (Hom. I 661). This easily got the connotation of 'finest part', 'finest thing'[7]. Ancient commentators and lexicographers compare the word with the metaphorical use of ἄνθος (cf. Raman, *op. cit.*, 196-7), but the idea of flowering is foreign to its original meaning. Accordingly, the translation 'bloom' (Segal, 231; similarly Schad. 'Blüte') is misleading, because it suggests the wrong conclusion that the word "belongs in the same realm of imagery as the trees and the planting (18, 34)" (Segal, *loc. cit.*).

4: δ' οὕτω, Not "as she had done before" (Gild.) or "weil ich ihr gefiel" (Jur.), or "with the above-mentioned result in view" (Fenn.; similarly Bernard, 31), or referring to the combination of a hymn and a victory ode (Me.), but explained by ἐναρμόξαι (Schwenn, 247). For the consecutive infinitive cf. *P.* 10, 48 θαυμάσαι, Schw. II, 364-5. According-

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[5] He compares *N.* 1, 14 ff., 71 and *I.* 6, 42 ff., but these passages do not suffice to show that "in Pindar Heracles is associated with life and fertility" (229).

[6] The meaning of Dorns.'s 'Zier' and Latt.'s 'speed' is not clear, and Slater's 'choicest prize' is too vague.

[7] R. A. Raman, Glotta 53 (1975), 195-207, argues that the word "acquired its qualitative overtones from the idea of *growth to* or *appearance on the surface or extremity*" (201). He compares the use of ἀκμή and concludes that there was a "shift from the concrete notion 'top' to the abstract notion 'excellence' " (205). It seems simpler, however, to assume a development from 'down' to 'finest part' and 'finest thing'.

ly, δέ has explanatory (motivating) force: 'I hope to have success, for I am presenting something new ...'.

4: **ποι.** Mommsen's emendation μοι adopted by Gild. is unnecessary. Farn. wrongly thinks that "we must attribute to Pindar an eccentric deprecatory use of this particle as = 'in some way', 'perchance' " (similarly Schwenn, 247 n. 29: "blosse Vermutung"). J. Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften*, I (Göttingen 1953), 700-4, has pointed out that πoυ is used "in Behauptungen, von deren Richtigkeit man überzeugt ist, die man aber nicht beweisen kann", especially with regard to the gods, and that the present passage refers to "ein Tun der Muse, wovon der Dichter gläubig überzeugt ist"[8]. Similarly *P.* 5, 101 ἀκούοντί ποι: 'we may trust that the heroes will hear the hymns sung in their honour'. Cf. also *P.* 2, 17, *P.* 10, 11, *I.* 2, 24. Denn.'s explanation (491), "πoυ is used ironically, with assumed diffidence, by a speaker who is quite sure of his ground", is wrong: the combination of certainty and reserve is based on the same indefiniteness that makes τις, ποτε, and πως either weaken or strengthen the idea to which they are added: cf. K.G.I, 663-4, Schw. II, 579-80, Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 182.

4: **παρέστα.** The parallels for παρίσταμαι 'to assist' (LSJ B I 2) show that this meaning always implies a physical stand-by. Bernard (77 n. 46) therefore seems right in assuming that Pindar refers to the image of the poetic chariot (*O.* 6, 22, *P.* 10, 65, *I.* 2, 2, *I.* 8, 62)[9].

For Pindar's belief in the assistance of the Muse(s) cf. Bowra, 17-8, Gianotti, 53 ff., Anastase, 205-13, and my remarks in Mnem. IV 36 (1983), 42-3. J. A. Davison, *From Archilochos to Pindar* (London 1968), 296-7, observes that in Pindar "the Muses never speak through the lips of the poet" and concludes that "what the Muses teach him must be blended with the products of his own mind" and "this interaction of the poet and the Muses, of inheritance and teaching, is symbolized by three of Pindar's favourite metaphors for poetry: weaving, ploughing, and the mixing of wine". But there is no evidence for the supposition that these metaphors refer to such an interaction, and the whole idea of a 'blending' of the poet's and the Muses' activities is misleading: Davison quite implausibly suggests that at *P.* 1, 58, *P.* 4, 3 and *N.* 3, 1 Μοῖσα means 'my poem', and he admits that at *N.* 7, 78-9 the Muse is said to do the

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[8] Slater refers to Wackernagel, but his own translation 'in some way' is not very helpful.

[9] See further my note on *I.* 2, 2 in Mnem. IV 35 (1982), 2, and the literature mentioned there. Hoey (*loc. cit.*, above n. 3) suggests that Pindar implicitly parallels his poetic chariot and Theron's chariot: "He might be expected to identify the horses with poetry and their tireless-footed quality with metrics". But such parallels as *O.* 1, 90, *O.* 5, 3, *N.* 1, 6, fr. 221 show that ἀκαμαντοπόδων is a purely conventional epithet.

work actually done by the poet. More importantly, he neglects *O.* 7, 7-8, where the Μοισᾶν δόσις is identical with the καρπὸς φρενός: the fact that divine gift coincides with human invention shows that there is no 'interaction' between the two activities but that they are complementary aspects of one and the same process. For this idea cf. my remarks in Mnem. IV 36 (1983), 38 ff. It is imagined by Pindar as a kind of collaboration: cf. *O.* 10, 95-7 τρέφοντι δ' εὐρὺ κλέος / κόραι Πιερίδες Διός. / ἐγὼ δὲ συνεφαπτόμενος ...[10].

4: νεοσίγαλον. Built on σιγαλόεις like πολυάνθεμος on ἀνθεμόεις and δυσπαίπαλος on παιπαλόεις: cf. M. Leumann, *Homerische Wörter* (Basel 1950), 214 n.8. Fenn. thinks that the metaphor is "from the glossiness of new cloth" (cf. the Homeric use of σιγαλόεις). For the ode as a festive attire cf. *O.* 1, 105 ὕμνων πτυχαῖς, *I.* 1, 32 περιστέλλων ἀοιδάν, Dorns., *P.S.*, 63. For its shining appearance cf. *O.* 9, 21 ἐπιφλέγων ἀοιδαῖς, Dorns., *P.S.*, 56, Gund., 46[11]. Segal's suggestion (241) that the composition of the ode constitutes "an act of joy and beauty precisely *because* it is a source of immense vitality" (my italics) is based on a confusion: the ode reinforces the victor's vitality by perpetuating his fame, and the

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[10] See also Gund., 29, 61-2, Strohm, 24-8, Duchemin, ch. I, P. Murray, JHS 101 (1981), 97. Fr. 150 μαντεύεο, Μοῖσα, προφατεύσω δ' ἐγώ (cf. *Pae.* 6, 6 Πιερίδων προφάταν) has caused some misunderstanding. Dodds (82) writes: "the poet does not ask to be himself 'possessed', but only to act as interpreter for the entranced Muse". Similarly Brown, 41-2, who compares *N.* 4, 74 κάρυξ and *N.* 6, 57 ἄγγελος, and Bowra (4): "Pindar distinguishes between what the Muse gives him and what he has to do with it"; 8: "the poet has a task to perform by his own efforts through his inborn skill"; 13: "For Pindar it is not the poet but the Muse who is possessed"; 14: "the poet, though not ἔνθεος in the fullest sense, is the prophet of the Muses". But the poet is unable to interpret the message of the Muses without their constant help: fr. 16 τυφλαὶ γὰρ ἀνδρῶν φρένες, / ὅστις ἄνευ θ' Ἑλικωνιάδων / βαθεῖαν ἐλθόντων ἐρευνᾷ σοφίας ὁδόν (cf. also *Pae.* 6, 51-5). In other words, the poet's own skill does not work without the inspiration given by the Muses. Bowra himself (16-7) seems to recognize this when he concludes from *N.* 7, 77-9 "how closely the different materials must be worked together. Yet it is not he but the Muse who does it. It is she who supplies the rare and rich themes and brings them together, and his task is to act as her agent ... His conception of inspiration is of a power which engages his whole being and carries him through his task to the end".

On the other hand, the predominance of divine influence does not rule out man's initiative. Br. (49-50) is fundamentally wrong in writing: "Pour Pindare, l'homme n'est rien. En tout état de cause, les êtres humains ne peuvent avoir qu'un rôle passif; ils peuvent recevoir des dons, obéir à des ordres, mais, d'eux-mêmes, ils ne peuvent prendre aucune initiative".

[11] Hoey (above, n. 3), 252, thinks that "chariotry is suggested, if sunkenly, in νεοσίγαλον τρόπον and in ἐναρμόξαι—so close to ζευχθέντες of the following verse", because "in Homer σιγαλόεις is used of horses' reins, and the basic meaning of τρόπος is 'turning'—exactly the function of reins. Though neither ἐναρμόζω nor ἁρμόζω is elsewhere used by Pindar in equine contexts, either could easily have been, and ζεύγνυμι certainly is". This is another example of philological acrobatism, but it shows that there is more confusion in Hoey than 'fusion in Pindar' (the title of his article).

beauty of the poem helps to realize this purpose, but beauty is an independent value, not a mere means of vitality.

Fenn. further thinks that the novelty of the poem consists in the combination of φόρμιγξ and αὐλός (8), Le. takes it to consist in the appropriate (9 πρεπόντως) combination of song, music, and dance, Gild. adopts Me.'s explanation, "die Verbindung eines Siegesliedes mit einem Cultusliede", Farn. lets us take our choice between "the originality of the poem" and "the novelty of its rythmic structure"[12]. Pindar probably wanted to express only his general claim of originality, just as at *O.* 9, 48-9 ἄνθεα δ' ὕμνων νεωτέρων, *N.* 8, 20 νεαρὰ δ' ἐξευρόντα, I. 5, 63 νέον ὕμνον, fr. 70 b, 5 νέαι. See further my remarks in Mnem. IV 36 (1983), 22-3 and the literature mentioned there in n. 44.

4: εὑρόντι. The main idea of the sentence is expressed by the participle: cf. K.G. II, 98-9, Schw. II, 389, and my notes on Men. *Epitr.* 219-20, Mnem. IV 27 (1974), 27, and Pind. *N.* 11, 5 γεραίροντες, ICS 7, 1 (1982), 18. For the coincident use of the aorist see above, on 3 ὀρθώσαις[13]. For the idea of 'finding' cf. *O.* 1, 110, *P.* 1, 60, *N.* 8, 20. I have pointed out in Mnem. IV 36 (1983), 54-5, that it should not be interpreted as literary creation in the strict sense of the word.

5: πεδίλῳ. Commonly interpreted as 'rhythm', but the evidence adduced by S. Baud-Bovy, Ἑλληνικά 34 (1982-83), 191-201, does not warrant the conclusion that the metre was regarded as specifically Doric[14]. The word more probably refers to the band of dancers: cf. the use of πούς for a walking person (LSJ I 7, K.G. I, 280). That the victory ode was performed by a dancing chorus appears from the beginning of *P.* 1, where 2 βάσις does not refer to the entrance of the chorus (Sitzler, Schroeder) but to the dance-steps: cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 968 εὐκύκλου χορείας βάσιν, LSJ I 2[15].

6: ἀγλαόκωμον. If πεδίλῳ refers to the dancing, -κωμον primarily refers to the song: cf. fr. 75, 7-8 σὺν ἀγλαΐᾳ ... ἀοιδᾶν. The word seems to support the view that the ode was performed during the procession (see above, on 1 φιλοξείνοις). It is true that the chorus probably took part in the procession, but the performance of the ode took place in front of the temple. There is no difficulty in assuming the procession towards the

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12 D. S. Carne-Ross, *Pindar* (New Haven-London 1985), 51, suggests "some choreographic innovation". Bernard's paraphrase (31), "um diese Weise neu aufglänzen zu lassen", does not fit in with εὑρόντι.

13 Gal. is certainly wrong in taking ἐναρμόξαι to depend on τρόπον.

14 Wil.'s interpretation (240), "also dorische Tonart", is obviously impossible.

15 Jur. explains: "die Melodie dorischem Wesen entsprechend gestalten" and compares *O.* 6, 8 ἴστω γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ πεδίλῳ δαιμόνιον πόδ' ἔχων, but his interpretation of that phrase, "wisse, dass dies Lob deinem Wesen entspricht", is far from obvious (cf. Fenn. and Farn. *ad. loc.*).

temple to pass into a ring-dance, for the dancers were striding rather than jumping: see note on *O.* 14, 17 βιβῶντα (cf. also on *O.* 14, 16 κῶμον). For the linking of the victory ode to the κῶμος see also Bundy I, 22-3. Accordingly, ἀγλαόκωμον does not have causative force (e.g. We. 'den Festzug schmückend') but means 'of a splendid chorus'. Fenn. translates ἀγλαο- by 'festive' and refers to the Hesiodic use of ἀγλαΐα, but festivity is the province of Thalia rather than of Aglaia: see note on *O.* 14, 15.

6: ἐπεί. Motivates 3 ὕμνον ὀρθώσαις.

6: μέν. Answered by 9 τε. Gild. on *O.* 4, 12 remarks: "μὲν ... δέ balances, τε... parallels, μὲν ... τε shifts from balance to parallel". Instead of 'parallel' it would be more correct to say 'complement': cf. J. Gonda, Mnem. IV 7 (1954), 177-214, 265-96, espec. 267. See also K.G. II, 271, Bruhn, § 188 II, Denn., 374-6. For the ἓν διὰ δυοῖν ('garland and Pisa' being equivalent to 'Olympian victory') cf. Dorns., *P.S.*, 26-7.

6: ζευχθέντες. For the participial construction ('the fact that ...') cf. *P.* 3, 102, *P.* 11, 23, *N.* 4, 34, K.G. II, 78, Schw. II, 404[16].

6: ἔπι. For the tmesis cf. K.G. I, 535-6, who are wrong, however, in comparing the anastrophe with *O.* 1, 49 (where κατά belongs to μέλη).

6: στέφανοι. Does not refer to the Theoxenia (Me., Pu., Conw.), nor to the crowns of the κωμασταί (Schwenn, 248, 254, Latt.)[17], for "the only crown that can be naturally said to demand from the poet the divine service of song is the Olympian crown won by the victor Theron" (Farn.; similarly Nis., Le., Jaufmann)[18]. Pindar uses 'crown' instead of 'victory'

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[16] J. K. Newman and F. S. Newman, *Pindar's Art: Its Tradition and Aims* (Hildesheim 1984), 181, translate the participle by 'yoked', but ἔπι shows that it is no hippic metaphor. Their other examples of hippic imagery pervading the ode are still more doubtful: 16 θεράποντα is assumed to belong to this sphere because "the duties of a θεράπων in heroic times included those of a chariot driver" (182 n. 12), 27 πολυγνάμπτων is taken to prefigure the twists of the race-course (186), 44 Ἡραχλέος σταλᾶν is said to symbolize the bounds of the race-course (186), 45 διώξω is taken to allude to chariot-driving (181 n. 11), and 45 κεινός is assumed to carry the implication of being disqualified (*ibid.*).

The authors postulate the recurrence of another, even more central, motif: the garland. This is assumed to be latent in 1 καλλιπλοκάμῳ, 4 ἄωτον, 9 συμμεῖξαι, 29 χρυσόκερων, 40 τραπέζαις (179, 182-3, 185). The arguments adduced in support of this assumption, just as the numerical speculations by which they are accompanied, are so futile that they need not be discussed in detail. It may be observed, however, that the authors are fundamentally wrong in thinking (179) that the golden antlers of the hind are bestowed on Heracles *by Artemis* as a crown of victory.

[17] Jur. thinks of "die Kränze der Festgenossen, welche gleich auf der Siegesstätte, zu Olympia, den Sieg des Theron feierten". He is forced to read πρᾶσσον τι and to translate τι ... θεόδματον by 'gleichsam von Gott mir aufgelegt' (!).

[18] Hoey (*art. cit.*, 253) thinks that Pindar also alludes to his own crown as a *poeta laureatus*, but this is excluded by the context (πράσσοντι ... χρέος). Farn.'s argument also rules out the alternative suggested by Fenn., that the crowns were those attached to the horses. Besides, his reference to *O.* 2, 50 and *O.* 6, 26 does not prove the existence of such a custom.

because the olive wreath plays the central part in the mythical section of the ode: Köhnken (*Third Olympian*, 55) observes that "nowhere else in Pindar's Olympian odes is the victory wreath said to inspire the song or songs, and it is difficult to find anything comparable in the Pythian, Isthmian, or Nemean Odes". The importance of the crown is emphasized by the plural, which is used for the sake of amplification: cf. *P.* 10, 26, Dorns., *P.S.*, 23-5, K.G. I, 18-9, Schw. II, 43-4.

7: **πράσσοντι.** For the use of the present cf. Schwenn, 249: "als ob das Lied erst bei der Aufführung selbst geschaffen wurde". Similarly e.g. *O.* 1, 18 λάμβανε.

7: **τοῦτο.** Refers forward: cf. K.G. I, 646, Schw. II, 209.

7: **θεόδματον.** Not because "es ist Satzung des Zeus, dass der Olympionike im Lied verherrlicht wird" (Schwenn, 248-9)[19], but because all good poetry is based on divine inspiration: cf. 10 θεόμοροι ... ἀοιδαί, fr. 178 νόμων ἀκούοντες θεοδμάτων κέλαδον. See further my remarks in Mnem. IV 36 (1983), 42-3. I doubt whether -δματον alludes to the metaphor of the song as a building (Fenn.), for cf. *P.* 1, 61 θεοδμάτῳ σὺν ἐλευθερίᾳ, *I.* 6, 11 θεοδμάτους ἀρετάς.

7: **χρέος.** Me. thinks that "die Gabe der Dichtung schliesst zugleich die Aufgabe ein, sie bei jeder Gelegenheit zur Verherrlichung der Götter zu verwenden"[20]. But the conception of the victory ode as a debt to the victor is a *topos*: cf. *O.* 1, 103, *O.* 8, 74, *P.* 8, 33, *P.* 9, 104, *N.* 7, 11, *N.* 11, 17, *I.* 3, 8, Gund., 43, Schadewaldt, 19-21, Schwenn, 248 n. 33, 249 n. 35, Gianotti, 19-21, 30-1.

8: **φόρμιγγα.** For the differences between phorminx, kitharis, and lyra cf. M. Wegner, *Das Musikleben der Griechen* (Berlin 1949), 29 ff. See also Gerber on *O.* 1, 17 φόρμιγγα.

8: **ποικιλόγαρυν.** For ποικίλος, which is first used by Pindar with reference to music, cf. Kaimio, 149-50, who points out that it denotes variety with the implication of a constructive combination of many parts. For Pindar's predilection for variety—kept within due limits by the restrictive force of καιρός, 'due measure'—cf. Gianotti, 114, and my remarks in Mnem. IV 36 (1983), 17-8.

For γῆρυς used of a musical instrument cf. A. *Eum.* 569 γήρυμα and the similar use of φωνή (LSJ I 4), ὄψ (Theogn. 532), and βοή (see next note).

[19] Similarly Bowra, 119: 'a debt charged by the gods', Jur.: "die Gottheit verleiht dem Sieger Anspruch auf die Verherrlichung durch den Dichter", Segal, 241: "The perception of this order [scil. of the world] and participation in its festal expression make the songs themselves 'destined by God' ".

[20] Similarly Segal, 241: "His 'obligation' (*chreos*) derives from his closer connection with the gods and his greater sensitivity to the beauty of their manifestations and presences in the world. Hence this 'obligation' is like the 'necessity' of Heracles, emanating from a closeness of connection with the divine".

8: βοάν. Cf. Hom. Σ 495 αὐλοὶ φόρμιγγές τε βοὴν ἔχον. Jur. rightly observes: "in βοά liegt nicht der Begriff des Lärmenden, es wird auch vom Klang der Leyer (*P.* 10, 39) und vom Gesange der Musen (*P.* 1, 13) gebraucht". On the other hand, the word certainly refers to a loud sound: cf. A. *Sept.* 394 βοὴν σάλπιγγος, E. *Tro.* 335 βοᾶτε τὸν ὑμέναιον.

8: αὐλῶν. Farn. writes that Pindar "gives us interesting information as to the nature of his music, wind and string; he is fond of phrases that bring together the two kinds". But the fact that the two kinds of instruments are mentioned together in four other places (*O.* 7, 12, *O.* 10, 93-4, *P.* 10, 39, *N.* 9, 8) does not seem to me significant: the combination was no doubt traditional, as appears from Hom. Σ 495 αὐλοὶ φόρμιγγές τε and from the coexistence of the two kinds on vase paintings: cf. Wegner (above, on 8 φόρμιγγα), 197-8 and espec. pl. 14 (βάρβιτον and αὐλός at a κῶμος). For the αὐλός as an instrument of victory music cf. Köhnken, 140-1. Jur., referring to E. Graf, *De Graecorum veterum re musica* (Marburg 1889), 37-47, argues that a victory ode was accompanied by more than one φόρμιγξ but by one αὐλός, "und zwar deshalb, weil jene einen zarten und schwachen, diese einen durchdringenden und starken (daher öfter das Attr. πάμφωνος) Klang hatte", and that "wo αὐλοί steht, ist der Plural von der (fast ausschliesslich gebrauchten) Doppelflöte zu verstehen, steht φόρμιγξ im Singular, so ist es collectiv aufzufassen". But on a 6th cent. vase depicting a religious procession (M. Wagner, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, II 4, Leipzig n.d., pl. 13) we find two cithern-players preceded by two men each of whom is playing a double αὐλός, so that I doubt the validity of Jur.'s argument. At any rate his reference to πάμφωνος is not convincing, for this epithet denotes variety rather than intensity of sound: cf. Kaimio 148-9, and my note on *O.* 7, 12 παμφώνοισι.

8: ἐπέων τε. For τε adding something to a couple bound by τε ... καί cf. *P.* 4, 148-9, *N.* 4, 9-10, Hom. β 117-8, Thgn. 3. For τε introducing the last item of a series cf. Denn., 500[21].

8: θέσιν. Gild.'s explanation ποίησιν (similarly Me., Fränkel, 290 n. 2) can hardly be correct: *Et. Magn.* 391, 26 Πίνδαρος θέσιν τὸ ποίημα λέγει is obviously a paraphrase, not a translation, and even if we believe that Alcaeus used θέσις in the sense of ποίησις (*Et.Magn.* 319, 31) and that τὸ ποῖησαι θεῖναι πρὸς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐλέγετο (Asclep.Myth. ap. Athen. XI 501 c), Pindar is unlikely to suggest that he 'makes' all his words as Hephaestus 'made' a number of scenes on the shield of Achilles (Σ 541

[21] Fenn. has rightly abandoned the view adopted in his first edition, that τε connects βοὰν αὐλῶν and ἐπέων θέσιν, but in his Introduction (XXVII) still repeats the contention that "if τε follows καί, it couples subdivisions of a class which καί couples to a previous idea".

ἐν δ' ἐτίθει νειόν, etc.). The term probably refers to the order of words (Bo. 'the patterned words', Conw. 'the due setting of words'[22]), to which Pindar attached special importance: cf. *N.* 7, 78-9 and Dorns., *P.S.*, 102 ff. The architectural connotation of 3 ὀρθώσαις is continued by that of θέσιν: cf. Pl. *Rep.* 333 b 4 πλίνθων καὶ λίθων θέσιν, Hom. M 28-9 θεμείλια ... θέσαν.

9: πρεπόντως. Not in a purely aesthetical sense (as is suggested by Nis.'s 'harmonize' and Le.' 'in giusta misura') but 'in a way worthy of him': cf. *O.* 2, 46-7, *N.* 3, 31, *N.* 7, 63, fr. 121, Gianotti, 30. For τὸ πρέπον as an equivalent of artistic μίμησις see my remarks in Mnem. IV 36 (1983), 54.

9: Πίσα. The region of Olympia, used as a synonym for Olympia: cf. the use of γῆ to denote a town (note on *O.* 14, 19 Μινύεια). Not scil. πράσσει (Fenn., Gild.), for γεγωνεῖν is not a debt to be paid to Pisa: consequently, we have to supply the more general idea of 'urges' from πράσσει: cf. K.G. II, 565, Bruhn, § 198, 1. I do not believe that this phrase points to a "generelle Pflicht gegenüber jedem Agonsieger" (Jaufmann, 37): στέφανοι ... ἅ τε Πίσα is a *hendiadyoin* for 'Olympian victory' (cf. *N.* 1, 7 ἅρμα δ' ὀτρύνει Χρομίου Νεμέα τε), which is divided into its components for the purpose of introducing the myth.

9: γεγωνεῖν. Scil. Αἰνησιδάμου παιδά. For the meaning 'to celebrate' cf. *O.* 2, 5-6, *P.* 9, 3-4. For the connotation of loudness see above, on 8 βοάν. Christ's emendation γέγωνεν, adopted by Tur., seems to get some support from *P.* 10, 4 με Πυθώ τε καὶ τὸ Πελινναῖον ἀπύει, but γέγωνά τινα never means 'to call'. Hartung's conjecture ϝε (= ἑαυτήν), adopted by Jur., is unnecessary.

9-10: τᾶς ἄπο ... ἀοιδαί. Similarly *O.* 1, 8 ὅθεν ... ὕμνος, *N.* 1, 4-5 σέθεν ... ὕμνος ὁρμᾶται. Cf. Becker, 74 ff. and Norwood, 165: "Pindar speaks of song as if it existed before the poet began his task; still, that is but a natural and pleasant confusion between subject and poem". For ἀοιδή 'theme of song' cf. LSJ I 2. Similarly ὕμνος (*N.* 6, 33) and μολπή (E. *Alc.* 453 and LSJ 4). Segal (245) connects the coming of the songs with the journeys of Heracles and his coming with the Dioscuri to the Theoxenia (34), and concludes that "the poem is articulated in terms of journeys". But 'coming' is a much more neutral notion than 'journey', and if we make 'coming' a theme of the poem, we might just as well take 'speaking' or 'being'.

10: θεόμοροι. See above, on 7 θεόδματον. For the second element cf. *O.* 9, 25 σύν τινι μοιριδίῳ παλάμᾳ, *N.* 4, 41-8.

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[22] Nis.'s 'rhythm' is too narrow.

10: νίσονται. 'Come regularly': cf. e.g. *N.* 5, 37. Similarly 34.

11: ᾧ τινι. The antecedent is not ἀνθρώπους (Fenn., We.), for that refers to the public, but τούτῳ (dat. of interest).

11: Ἡρακλέος. Robbins (305) suggests that "the Acragantines had, in fact, an unusually strong claim on Heracles", but his argument contains too much speculation.

11: προτέρας. 'Of old': cf. Hom. E 637 ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνδρῶν, LSJ A II 1.

12: ἀτρεκής. Not 'fair' (Dorns. 'der lautere', We. 'lautren Sinns', Latt. 'upright'), a meaning which the word never has, but 'unswerving' (Fenn., who compares *N.* 3, 42-3 ἀτρεκεῖ ... ποδί), hence 'strict', 'accurate', scil. in executing Heracles' orders[23]. See further W. Luther, *Wahrheit und Lüge im ältesten Griechentum* (Borna-Leipzig 1935), 43 ff., A. J. Festugière, *Hippocrate, L'ancienne médicine* (Paris 1948), n. 47, J. P. Levet, *Le vrai et le faux dans la pensée grecque archaïque*, I (Paris 1976), 124 ff.

12: Ἑλλανοδίκας. The umpire has this title because Greeks alone were allowed to participate in the games. See further *KP* II, 1006.

12: γλεφάρων. Pindar here uses the Doric form, but at *P.* 4, 172 ἑλικοβλεφάρου.

12: Αἰτωλός. The Heraclidae had been guided by the Aetolian Oxylus on their return to the Peloponnese, where they gave him Elis to rule (cf. *KP* IV, 390). The addition is not to be regarded as a display of mythological learning but is intended to bestow ὄγκος on the style.

Barkhuizen (34-5) rightly argues that the assonance with 17 αἴτει is not intentional (as is assumed by Bury), but his own suggestion of a connection between Αἰτωλός (= 'Αλεῖος) and 18 ἄλσει seems to me far-fetched.

12: ὑψόθεν. Wrongly explained by Gild. (followed by Le.): "The eyes of the victor would naturally follow the movement of the prize-giver's hand": ὑφόθεν here does not mean 'from above', but -θεν can denote a static position, as has been shown by M. Lejeune, *Les adverbes grecs en -θεν* (Bordeaux 1940) (cf. also Bruhn, § 28), so that the word is equivalent to ὑπέρ (LSJ II 2). For the hyperbaton cf. Gerber on *O.* 1, 17 θαμά.

13: βάλῃ. 'Put': cf. *P.* 7, 3-4 κρηπῖδα ... βαλέσθαι, LSJ II 6.

13: γλαυκόχροα. P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, *Studies in Greek Colour Terminology*, I (Leiden 1981), shows that the hue is not greyish-green (Gild. and others) but pale blue. I do not believe, however, that he is right in suggesting (126) that the word implicitly refers to Zeus as the god of the light blue sky. He thinks that such an allusion may be supported by the fact that κόσμος was "newly used by Pythagoras to refer to the sky" (cf.

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[23] Le. 'fermo', and even his explanation 'preciso e obiettivo', is not clear.

D. L. 8, 48), but the existence of such an early usage has been disproved by J. Kerschensteiner, *Kosmos* (Munich 1962), 192 ff.[24].

For χρώς 'colour' cf. A. *Pers*. 317, *Suppl*. 785.

13: κόσμον. Not a mere ornament but implying honour: cf. *O*. 8, 83, *N*. 3, 31, and Kerschensteiner, *op. cit.*, 21 and nn. 2-3.

13: ἐλαίας. Genitive of matter or of quality. Segal (232) thinks that "it is perhaps of further significance that Pindar calls the tree ἐλαία (13b), i.e., the tame, not the wild olive, the symbol of civilization and, in Athens at least, of the gods' life-giving benificence (it is usually the wild olive, *kotinos*, which Heracles is said to bring back from the Hyperboreans—e.g., Pausanias 5.7.7)", but he admits that the same Pausanias (V 15, 3) calls the *kotinos* ἐλαία καλλιστέφανος and that Herodotus (V 82, 3) speaks of the ἡμέρη ἐλαίη. The words ἀγριελαία and ἀγριέλαιος also show that ἐλαίη could be used in a wide and neutral sense. Segal further suggests that the crown brings the victor into contact with "the primal vitality of the earth" (235) and that "the olive trees join men and gods under the symbol of growth and life" (236; similarly 248), but such a power of the olive tree is unattested. That this tree was especially sacred to Artemis (Segal, 262 n. 77) is an arbitrary assumption. The crown is more probably intended to perpetuate the victor's contact with Zeus (the god who brings τέλος, 'fulfilment', to human achievements: *N*. 10, 29), for the leaves were taken from a special tree behind his temple (Paus. V 15, 3)[25]. In order to explain the sanctity of this tree Pindar makes Heracles, the founder of the games, bring it from the sacred country of the Hyperboreans[26]. Segal (237) certainly goes too far in suggesting that the Hyperborean origin of the olive tree implies "the possibility of men's sharing ... in the quasi-divine purity of joy and life possessed by the Hyperboreans". He constantly confuses the status of Heracles and that of man, e.g. when he concludes (245) that "man's achievement and vitality spring from contact with mysterious, sometimes dangerous, divinities and powers". This applies to Heracles, but not to the victor or the poet, who are guided and protected by Zeus, the Dioscuri, and the Muses.

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[24] Cf. also G. S. Kirk, *Heraclitus: The Cosmic Fragments* (Cambridge 1954), 313-4, W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Mass. 1972), 77, J. Mansfeld, *The Pseudo-Hippocratic Tract* Περὶ ἑβδομάδων *Ch. 1-11 and Greek Philosophy* (Assen 1971), 42 ff.

[25] For the religious significance of the crown cf. M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Berlin-New York 1982).

[26] Bowra (303) rightly points out that Pindar attached such importance to the olive-crown as the prize for a victory that he felt obliged to give it "a suitably exalted origin", but I doubt whether he intended "to answer criticisms that an olive-crown was but a poor reward for a victory".

13: τάν. A similar introduction of the myth is to be found at *O.* 1, 25, *O.* 10, 24, and elsewhere: cf. E. des Places, *Le pronom chez Pindare* (Paris 1947), 48-50. Bundy (I, 8 n. 27) may be right in suggesting that it "is descended from the use of the relative in cult hymns to introduce descriptions of the god's powers, and in the rhapsodic hymns to introduce the central narrative illustrating the god's greatness": cf. West on Hes. *Th.* 2.

For the retrospective character of the narration (cf. also 19 ἤδη, 26 ἔνθα, 29 ἄν) cf. Köhnken, *Third Olympian*, 52-5. See also note on *O.* 7, 34 ἔνθα.

14: Ἴστρου. In reality the olive is of eastern origin: cf. A. S. Pease, *RE* XVII, 1999 ff. Farn. (I, 20) suggests that "Pindar must have known of the Hyperborean maidens that were buried in Delos and that above the grave of one of them an olive tree was growing" (cf. also Segal, 237, Robbins, 299-300), but this cannot have been the only, or even the main, reason why the poet brings up the Hyperboreans. Köhnken (*Third Olympian*, 57-8) points out that "the Hyperboreans stand for timeless bliss" (cf. *P.* 10, 33-44) and that their country is an appropriate place of origin for the tree the leaves of which, together with the victory ode (see above, on 6 στέφανοι), provide mortals with immortal fame.

14: σκιαρᾶν. For the Doric form cf. Schr., *Prol.*, 22. The shadow refers to the bigness and thick foliage of the trees rather than to the western situation near the sunset (as is suggested by Schwenn, 250 n. 37): cf. Hom. A 157 οὔρεα σκιόεντα, υ 278 ἄλσος ὕπο σκιερόν, E. *I. T.* 1246 σκιερᾷ ... εὐφύλλῳ δάφνᾳ, Sappho 2, 7-8 and S. L. Radt *ad loc.*, Mnem. IV 23 (1970), 338.

14: Ἀμφιτρυωνιάδας. Although he was a son of Zeus: cf. Hom. E 392, where Heracles is called πάϊς Ἀμφιτρύωνος. Fenn. compares *N.* 10, 73 Τυνδαρίδας said of Polydeuces. Similarly above, 1 Τυνδαρίδαις.

15: μνᾶμα. The predicate has resultative force: cf. K.G. I, 276, 284, Bruhn, § 9, Schw. II, 181 (who wrongly calls this use 'proleptic').

15: κάλλιστον. See above, on 3 ἀκαμαντοπόδων.

16: Ὑπερβορέων. Pindar, as contrasted with Aristeas, does not bother about their precise location, but emphasizes their paradisiac character (cf. *P.* 10, 29-44)[27]: cf. Fränkel, 562-3, Wüst, 24, 29-30, *KP* II, 1274-5. He has no difficulty in localizing the sources of the Ister in their country because these, just as those of the Nile, were unknown in his time (cf. *I.* 6, 23). See also Robbins, *Intimations*, 224 n. 27.

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[27] Segal (236) is certainly wrong in concluding from 31-2 that the land of the Hyperboreans is cold and hence "now fruitful, now mysteriously barren".

16: πείσαις. Me. wrongly puts a full stop after 15 ἀέθλων and omits the colon after 16 λόγῳ: the idea expressed by πείσαις cannot precede or qualify αἴτει. For the fact that sentences are carried over not only from one section of a triad to another, but also from one triad to another cf. Bowra, 319.

16: Ἀπόλλωνος θεράποντα. Farn. suggests that "this fictitious people may have arisen from an ancient ritual of sending offerings to Apollo in Delos (via Dodona and Delphi) from the distant North". See also Nilsson, 380-1, 548-9, *KP, loc. cit.*, Anastase, 27 ff. Segal (236) writes that "Pindar thus combines in the Northland the ordered intelligence of the arts and civilization which Apollo sponsors (see *P.* 5.63-69) and the august morality embodied in the god (see *P.* 9. 42-49) with the primitive vital forces of nature symbolized by Artemis and the hind of the golden horns". But the parallel passages (*P.* 10, 30-6, *Pae.* 8, 63-4) suggest that the connection between Apollo and the Hyperboreans had a purely ritual character.

16: λόγῳ. Gild. observes that "λόγῳ has an emphatic position" and that "Herakles does not often stoop to plead". Dorns. (*P.S.*, 126) may be right in suggesting that in the original story Heracles had taken possession of the olive by force (similarly Jur., 21, Segal, 234 and n. 71). See further M. C. van der Kolf, *Quaeritur quomodo Pindarus fabulas tractaverit quidque in eis mutarit* (Rotterdam 1923), 38, G. Huxley, *Pindar's Vision of the Past* (Belfast 1975), 14 ff. For Pindar's tendency to idealize Heracles cf. Schmid, 579-80, Illig, 33-4 and 84 n. 3, Bowra, 45-8, G. K. Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme* (Oxford 1972), 23 ff., W. J. Slater, in D. E. Gerber (ed.), *Greek Poetry and Philosophy: Studies in Honour of L. Woodbury* (Chico 1984), 249 ff.

Bern. (70) argues that the friendly character of Heracles' encounter with the Hyperboreans fits in with the friendly atmosphere of the Theoxenia, where the gods show their benevolence towards men by their presence. This is an artificial argument, for the Theoxenia in the first place express man's benevolence towards the gods.

17: πιστά. Not 'true to his sire' (Gild.; similarly Nis.), for Heracles undertakes this visit, unlike his former expedition to the Hyperboreans (28), on his own initiative (25 θυμὸς ὤρμα and *O.* 2, 3-4), nor 'voll Zuversicht auf Gewährung' (Jur.), but 'trustworthy', i.e., so that the Hyperboreans could trust him that he would not take along more trees, or other things, than was agreed on[28].

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[28] The translation 'loyal' (Fenn., Sand., Pu., Farn.) is correct if it is taken to mean that he sincerely intended to keep his promises to the Hyperboreans (Fenn.; cf. Illig, 34).

Fenn. observes that "critics, stumbling at the asyndeton ..., have read ὅ γε [for λόγῳ] found in inferior MSS."[29]. The asyndeton has explanatory (specifying) force[30]: cf. K.G. II, 344-5, and my notes on Men. *Epitr.* fr. 2, Mnem. IV 27 (1974), 17-8, Pind. *I.* 2, 37, Mnem. IV 35 (1982), 27, and Hes. *Op.* 11, 126, 240, 320.

17: πανδόκῳ. Cf. *O.* 1, 93 πολυξενωτάτῳ, *O.* 6, 63 πάγκοινον and 69 πλειστόμβροτον. These words probably allude to the Olympic ἐκεχειρία.

18: ἄλσει. The schol. rightly observes: πᾶν χωρίον τοῖς θεοῖς ἀφιερωμένον, κἂν ψιλὸν ᾖ, ἄλσος καλεῖται (similarly schol. on *O.* 10, 45). At Hom. B 506 Onchestos is the ἄλσος of Poseidon (Ameis-Hentze wrongly suggest: "weil bei der Stadt viele Waldungen waren"), at S. *Ant.* 844 Thebes is the ἄλσος of Dionysus, at A. *Suppl.* 558 Egypt is the ἄλσος of Zeus, and at *Pers.* 111 the sea is called πόντιον ἄλσος (cf. *Suppl.* 868, Bacch. 17, 84).

Barkhuizen (97) rightly assumes that the present passage alludes to the Altis. On the other hand, Fenn. is equally right in pointing out that ἄλσος is a wider area than the Altis, as appears from the comparison of 18 ἄλσει ... φύτευμα and 33-4 περὶ τέρμα δρόμου ἵππων φυτεῦσαι. It may therefore be doubted whether Viljoen (183-4) is right in arguing that at *O.* 10, 44-5 the two words are synonymous.

18: ξυνόν. 'Accessible to everybody' (cf. *I.* 3, 46 παναγυρίων ξυνᾶν), as contrasted with the wreaths, which are reserved for the victors (Gild.). Jur. wrongly takes ξυνὸν ἀνθρώποις with στεφανόν and thinks that ξυνόν means 'available to every Greek'.

18: ἀνθρώποις. Gods and heroes do not need the shadow. Robbins (*Intimations*, 225 n. 29) certainly goes too far in suggesting that "Heracles' planting of the olive-tree at Olympia ... may be meant to symbolize the rule of this world ... in which light and shadow, good and evil, are inextricably mixed".

18: στεφανόν τε. The construction is slightly irregular: 'wreaths' and 'shadow' should be parallel as predicates of φύτευμα. Cf. Dorns., *P.S.*, 103: "Zwei parallele Glieder werden stets möglichst unsymmetrisch ausgedrückt". For the resultative force of the predicate ('to be made into wreaths') see above, on 15 μνᾶμα.

18: ἀρετᾶν. 'Outstanding achievements', 'successes': cf. *O.* 7, 89 ἀρετὰν εὑρόντα, *N.* 5, 52-3 ἑλεῖν ἀρετάν, and my notes on Hes. *Op.* 289 and 313. The fact that the same word is used for capacity (excellence, virtue)

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[29] For other emendations aiming at the same purpose cf. D. Gerber, *Emendations in Pindar 1513-1972* (Amsterdam 1976), 38.

[30] Jur.'s note, "Beginn der eigentlichen Erzählung, daher das Asyndeton", is misleading. He compares *O.* 1, 73, but there the asyndeton has consecutive force.

and result (excellent achievement) is to be explained from the fact that the word denotes τὸ εὖ ἔχον in the widest possible sense (cf. my remarks in Mnem. IV 30, 1977, 79-80) and from the fact that the early Greeks did not draw a sharp distinction between the inner world and the outer world: cf. my remarks in Lampas 5 (1972), 104 ff. Accordingly, LSJ III 'reward of excellence' is a misleading interpretation. For ἀρετά in Pindar see further Gund., 26 and 78.

The genitive is objective, because στέφανος implies the verbal notion of 'crowning': cf. *N.* 5, 5 νικᾶν ... στέφανον, *I.* 1, 34 τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς ἐν τιμαῖσιν, K.G. I, 335-6.

19-20. For the similarity between these lines and *O.* 10, 73-5 and other parallels between the two odes cf. Viljoen, 161-2.

19: αὐτῷ. With ἀντέφλεξε, like ἀποβλέπειν τινι. Me. suggests that it may also be connected with ἁγισθέντων, but see next note.

19: μέν. Contrasts πατρί with αὐτῷ: cf. *N.* 6, 61, Denn., 377-8. Farn. wrongly thinks that μέν is "irregularly answered" by 23 ἀλλά, and Me. and Jur. are equally wrong in taking it to be answered by 21 καί.

19: βωμῶν. For the plural see above, on 6 στέφανοι.

19: διχόμηνις. 'Halving the month', hence 'full'. The Olympian games were held after the second or third full moon after the summer solstice. Barkhuizen (108) suggests that the paronomasia διχόμηνις ... Μῆνα serves to emphasize the precise date of the games, because μήν and *mensis* are etymologically connected with μῆτις and *metior*. But διχόμηνις is a traditional designation of the full moon (cf. *I.* 8, 44 and LSJ) in which the idea of measuring is not predominant.

19: ὅλον. Not "proleptic" (Gild.), but predicate put before the object for the sake of emphasis: cf. my note on Semon. 7, 24 ἔργων, Mnem. IV 21 (1968), 139, and Verdenius-Waszink on Arist. *GC* 319 a 32.

19: χρυσάρματος. Gild. compares the "yellow harvest-moon", but gold in Pindar refers to radiance and imperishableness rather than to colour, and is characteristic of the possessions of the gods: cf. *O.* 14, 10 χρυσότοξον, *O.* 1, 41, *O.* 7, 32, *P.* 1, 1, *P.* 3, 94, *P.* 10, 88, *I.* 2, 1. See further below, on 42 αἰδοιέστατος.

Köhnken (*Third Olympian*, 62) suggests that the epithet "has been chosen for the sake of the chariot victory celebrated in the ode", but it has a functional sense in its own context (which has nothing to do with a racing contest), just as χρυσάρματος said of Athena at Bacch. 13, 194.

Segal (238) thinks that Pindar "puts emphasis on the beauty of the full moon", a beauty connected with "the fullness of life" and "communicated from Zeus to the wandering hero and brought through the Dioscuri and their festival to the 'common' (18) race of men". This is an arbitrary construction based on a kind of aestheticism foreign to Pin-

dar's mind: the divine radiance of the moon has a religious significance and has nothing to do with "the sensuous embodiment of the mellowed light of the summer moon" (contrasted by Segal with the sharp rays of the sun). Similarly, there is no contrast between the gold at *O.* 1, 1-2, which "enters human life as a dazzling, astral flash", and the gold of the moon "embodied in the familiar symbol of the life and fertility of the earth" (Segal, 239).

20: ἑσπέρας. Not a genitive of time (Gild., Pu., and others), for it is self-evident that this happened in the evening, but to be connected with ὀφθαλμόν: cf. A. *Pers.* 428 νυκτὸς ὄμμα and Groeneboom *ad loc.*[31]. The fact that ἑσπέρας ὀφθαλμός is identical with Μήνα is no difficulty, because the main idea is expressed by ὅλον (see above, *ad loc.*). The moon, just as the sun, could be imagined as an eye because seeing was considered to be based on the emanation of light from the eyes, so that conversely light was associated with sight: cf. *N.* 3, 84 δέδορκεν φάος, *N.* 9, 41-2 δέδορκεν ... φέγγος. See further my observations in *Studia C. W. Vollgraff* (Amsterdam 1948), 161 ff. Cf. also Ch. Mugler, REG 73 (1960), 40 ff., C. J. Classen, Stud. Gen. 18 (1965), 100-1, W. Déonna, *Le symbolisme de l'œil* (Paris 1965)[32].

21: καί. Not "as if it [19-20] were a temporal conjunction, 'at the very time when' " (Fenn.), but introducing the motivation of the fact that the appearance of the full moon urged him. For this use of explanatory καί see my note on Men. *Epitr.* 120, Mnem. IV 27 (1974), 23 and the references given there. Accordingly, 22 θῆκε should be translated as a pluperfect[33].

21: μεγάλων. Omitted by Nis., but the function of the word is more than ornamental. The meaning is not 'kraftvoll' (We.) but 'important': cf. LSJ A II 4 and M. Bissinger, *Das Adjektiv* μέγας *in der griechischen Dichtung* (Munich 1966), 213, 311-3, who compares *N.* 1, 11. For the Olympian games as the most important ones cf. *O.* 1, 7, *O.* 2, 13.

21: ἁγνὰν κρίσιν. Not 'decision' (Me., Dorns., We., Schad., Slater, Le.) or 'judgement' (Pu., Gal., Nis.), like *O.* 7, 80 κρίσις ἀμφ' ἀέθλοις, but 'trial' (Bo., Segal, 240)[34]: cf. *N.* 10, 23 ἀέθλων κρίσιν, S. *Trach.* 266 πρὸς τόξου κρίσιν, Ar. *Ran.* 779 κρίσιν ποιεῖν ὁπότερος εἴη τὴν τέχνην σοφώτερος, LSJ II 2. Accordingly, ἁγνάν cannot refer to "the sacrosanct

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[31] See also I. Waern, Γῆς ὀστέα. *The Kenning in Pre-Christian Greek Poetry* (Uppsala 1951), 49.

[32] The image of the seeing sun and moon was so conventional that I doubt whether the present passage implies "that the Moon watches over the Games" (Bowra, 247).

[33] Le. wrongly notes: "Sintassi non priva di incertezze".

[34] Conw. combines the two meanings: 'the contest and sacred judgment', but the sequel of the sentence shows that the contest is meant.

character of the judges who were bound by a religious oath to give righteous judgment'' (Farn. with schol.), but must mean 'consecrated to a god': cf. Hom. φ 258-9 ἑορτὴ ἁγνή, LSJ I 1. See further A. J. Festugière, *La sainteté* (Paris 1942), ch. I, A. Moulinier, *Le pur et l'impur dans la pensée des Grecs* (Paris 1952), 272 ff. (whose semantic considerations are unconvincing), B. Gentili, QUCC 2 (1966), 37 ff., *Less.pol.*, 78 ff. Barkhuizen (108) rightly points out that the paronomasia ἁγισθέντων ... ἁγνάν emphasizes the sacred character of the games (cf. 22 ζαθέοις)[35].

21: **πενταετηρίδα.** Curiously mistranslated by Schad. as 'Fünfmonatsfest'.

21: **ἁμᾶ.** Doric for ἅμα. For the reading ἁμᾷ (Fenn., Farn.) cf. Schr., *Prol.*, 37. Pindar emphasizes the fact that the first games were planned as the beginning of a series (similarly *O.* 10, 57-8).

22: **θῆκε.** 'He had instituted': cf. LSJ A VI.

22: **ζαθέοις.** There was a cult of Alpheus at Olympia: cf. Paus. V 14, 6, Nilsson, 237 and 492, Viljoen (186) on *O.* 10, 48-9.

22: **ἐπὶ κρημνοῖς.** Latt.'s 'under the hanging hills' is of course wrong.

22: **καλά.** 'Of fine quality' (LSJ A II), i.e., giving much shadow.

23: **ἔθαλλεν.** There is no evident example of a causative use (as is assumed by Jur., Rumpel, Dorns., Schad., Slater). The accusative **δένδρεα** is taken to be internal by Gild., Farn., K.G. I, 308. Fenn. calls it ''determinant'', but this is too vague. At A. *Pers.* 616-7 τῆς τ' αἰὲν ἐν φύλλοισι θαλλούσης βίον / ξανθῆς ἐλαίας the accusative βίον is an apposition to the unexpressed internal object (θαλίαν) of θαλλούσης (see my notes on *O.* 7, 16 and on E. *Ba.* 9, Mnem. IV 33, 1980, 3), but a concrete object such as δένδρεα can hardly be an apposition to θαλίαν. Similarly Theocr. 25, 15-6 μελιηδέα ποίην / λειμῶνες θαλέθουσιν. In such cases I prefer the explanation proposed by Schw. II, 74: ''unter Verschweigung des im Akkusativ stehenden Verbalnomens tritt der davon abhängige Genitiv in den Akkusativ'', e.g. Xen. *An.* VI 5, 23 ὅσας μάχας νενικήκατε = ὅσων μαχῶν νίκας νενικήκατε (cf. also Schw., 76).

23: **Κρονίου.** Rightly connected by Aristarchus with βάσσαις: cf. *O.* 1, 111 παρ' εὐδείελον ἐλθὼν Κρόνιον, *N.* 11, 25 παρ' εὐδένδρῳ μολὼν ὄχθῳ Κρόνου. Rumpel, Farn., Latt., Nis., Le. wrongly take the word to belong to Πέλοπος (who was a great-grandson of Kronos)[36]: Viljoen (187 ff.) on *O.* 10, 50 points out that Pindar when mentioning the Kronion hill avoids referring to the cult of Kronos (Paus. VI 20, 1). Besides, as is pointed

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[35] Segal (240) concludes from ἁγνάν and 22 ζαθέοις that ''the fertile powers of nature are conveyed to men through the gods'', but this is another arbitrary assumption.

[36] Schad.'s 'der Platz des Pelops in den Tälern des Kronossohnes' is obviously impossible.

out by Köhnken (*Third Olympian*, 50 n. 2), χῶρος without some qualification would be otiose. Pregnant translations such as 'lawn' (Latt.) or 'ground' (Nis.; similarly Le.) do not remove this objection. Farn. takes οὐ to be equivalent to οὐδείς ('no spot'), but this seems to be unparalleled.

23: **Πέλοπος.** I do not believe that this "is a reminder of the chariot race between Pelops and Oinomaos dealt with in *O.* 1, 67-88" (Köhnken, *Third Olympian*, 61): the phrase 'Pelops' country' is a common circumlocution for Peloponnese or Olympia (cf. *N.* 2, 21, *I.* 1, 24).

24: **τούτων.** The asyndeton has consecutive force: cf. K.G. II, 342-3, and my notes on Semon. 7, 29, Mnem. IV 21 (1968), 140, and Men. *Epitr.* 378 and 579, Mnem. IV 27 (1974), 34 and 38.

24: **ἔδοξεν.** 'He saw that ...' (Conw.): cf. *O.* 13, 56 ἐδόκησαν ... μαχᾶν τάμνειν τέλος, *N.* 4, 37 σφόδρα δόξομεν δαΐων ὑπέρτεροι ἐν φάει καταβαίνειν, Ar. *Plut.* 1170 ἵν' εὐθέως διακονικὸς εἶναι δοκῇς.

24: **κᾶπος.** Equivalent to ἄλσος: cf. *P.* 5, 24 (Cyrene is) Ἀφροδίτας κᾶπος, *P.* 9, 57 (Libya is) Διὸς ἔξοχον κᾶπον, LSJ I. Fenn. points out that the word may be etymologically related to *campus*: cf. Chantraine, 525-6.

24: **ὀξείαις ... αὐγαῖς ἀελίου.** A Homeric phrase: cf. P 371-2, where ὀξύς refers to brightness (cf. Ξ 345), whereas in the present passage it refers to piercing heath (cf. LSJ II 1). Similarly *O.* 7, 70 (cf. 71 πῦρ). For Homeric phrases in Pindar (similarly 25 γλυκὺς ἵμερος = Γ 446) and their variations (e.g. 25 θυμὸς ὦρμα ~ Σ 426, 32 ἐθάμβαινε σταθείς ~ ε 75) cf. Schmid, 596-7, 610, Bowra, 215-6.

24: **ὑπακουέμεν.** 'To be exposed to': LSJ II 5. The addition of 'dangerously' (Bowra, 257) certainly goes too far. Similarly, Segal (246) lists the rays of the sun among the "potentially dangerous primal energies", and concludes that "human life exists, then, in a place of shelter between the fruitfulness and the wildness of nature" and that "through the hero's intervention, men can touch and tap the life-giving current of nature's vitality without exposure to destructive powers". But (1) the Olympian games are not identical with human life, and (2) shadow is a means of comfort, not of vitality.

25: **δὴ τότε.** Not identical with τότε δή (most translators) but δή means 'therefore' (Rumpel 'igitur'): cf. Denn., 237.

25: **πορεύεν.** For the Doric form of the infinitive cf. Schr., *Prol.*, 39. Gerber on *O.* 1, 3 prefers -ειν because there is no metrical necessity for -εν in Pindar. But at *O.* 1, 3 and *P.* 4, 115 not only the manuscripts but also the scholia have the Doric form, so that one cannot refer to the tendency of scribes to introduce dialectical forms, as is done by Gerber. See further Radt's note on *Pae.* 6, 94 ἀναλύεν.

Gild. takes ὦρμα to be intransitive and πορεύεν causative, but this is rather unnatural. For πορεύεν = πορεύεσθαι (schol.) cf. *O.* 8, 47 ἤπειγεν

= ἠπείγετο; see further Fenn., XXVIII, Schr., *Prol.*, 43. The reading ὥρμαιν', adopted by Boeckh and D. Young, GRBS 7 (1966), 11, is impossible, for this could mean only 'he considered'.

25: θυμός. Not 'Mut' (Dorns., We., Schad.) but 'impulse', 'desire': cf. Snell, 19-22, Onians, 44 ff., and my note on Hes. *Op.* 13.

26: Ἰστρίαν. For the emphatic position of the attribute cf. T. C. W. Stinton, CQ N.S. 27 (1977), 62, who compares *O.* 2, 95, *O.* 6, 50, *O.* 9, 49. Robbins (298) rightly points out that "the extended backward movement of the myth is temporarily broken by a return to the point of departure" (14 Ἴστρου ... παγᾶν).

26: ἔνθα. If this is taken to be equivalent to a demonstrative, the asyndeton has explanatory (motivating) force: cf. K.G. II, 344, and my note on Hes. *Op.* 211 and the literature mentioned there.

26: Λατοῦς ... θυγάτηρ. Pindar may have thought of the Thracian or Taurian Artemis, but Farn. observes that he, "alone of all the poets and mythographers of antiquity, brings the hind to the Hyperborean region". The picture of a deer on a black-figured amphora representing the Garden of the Hesperides (referred to by Robbins, 301) does not give sufficient, if any, support to the assumption of "the existence of a tradition in which Heracles went for the animal to a paradise at the ends of the earth" (Robbins). Köhnken (*Third Olympian*, 56) plausibly concludes that the poet "for the purpose of *O.* 3 invented the Hyperborean ancestry of the victory garland, extended Herakles' chase for the hind of Artemis to include the Hyperborean region, and finally added a second visit of Herakles to the Hyperboreans to fetch the olive trees for Olympia".

The fact that the present abode of the goddess is rich in trees and that she was worshipped as a tree-goddess in some places does not warrant the conclusion that she is imagined here as embodying "the life-giving powers of nature" (Segal, 232). See also below, on 27 δέξατο.

26: ἱπποσόα. For σεύω 'to drive' cf. Hom. O 681, ζ 89. Farn. observes that Artemis' association with horses is very slight (*Cults* II, 450; for Artemis Πωλώ on Thasos cf. Nilsson, 483 n. 3). Hom. Z 205 χρυσήνιος (referred to by Gild.) does not prove anything, because other goddesses, too, have chariots. Pindar emphasizes her interest in chariot races (cf. fr. 89 a; *P.* 2, 7-8 is less probative: cf. Köhnken, *Third Olympian*, 62 n. 52) because she had a cult at Olympia (Nilsson, 492). The adjective certainly does not imply "dass der Artemis auch die Obhut über die Pferdezucht zugeschrieben wurde" (Jur.).

27: δέξατο. Should be translated as a pluperfect, for it refers to a previous visit (Me., Jur., Gild.)[37]. Segal (265 n. 97) admits that "with

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[37] Similarly Pu., Farn., Conw., Jaufmann, Nis. Cf. also J. Kakridis, Philol. 85 (1930), 475 n. 50, Schwenn, 251-2, Köhnken, *Third Olympian*, 47-55. Illig (58-9 n. 2 and

one journey, line 25 is difficult to explain'', but thinks that the assumption of two journeys to the Hyperboreans ''makes havoc of Pindar's tenses'', because the second journey, too, is indicated by aorists (14 and 33). But the use of aorists in the description of the journeys does not imply their simultaneousness: for the use of the aorist with pluperfect force cf. K.G. I, 169; for the similar use of the imperfect (28 ἔντυε, 32 θάμβαινε), *ibid.*, 145. See also Robbins, 297, who rightly observes that Pindar ''is generally content to use the simple aorist of past action and to supply other temporal indicators to locate events in a narrative in relation to each other. In this case ἐλθόντ' Ἀρκαδίας ἀπὸ δειρᾶν ... εὖτέ νιν (27-28) is an elaborate specifying phrase that clearly shows this to be not the occasion of the founding of the games but an earlier trip''. His additional remark, ''The pluperfect, never common in Greek, is all but non-existent in Pindar'', is irrelevant, for the pluperfect could not have been used in the present case. He further points out (298-9) that the structure of the myth in the third Olympian resembles that of the seventh Olympian in that it is based on a backward motion consisting of two steps, viz. Heracles' first visit to the Hyperboreans and Taygete's dedication of the hind to Artemis.

Segal (*ibid.*) concludes that ''Pindar seems to have fused in some degree the two journeys'', and he even suggests (235) that Heracles ''at the moment when he would grasp the horns and slay the doe[38] ... looks up and sees the olive trees ... He would seem to have forgotten the hind and bring back instead a gentler, less dangerous, less ambivalent form of the fertility of nature''. But it is inconceivable that the hero should have set aside his father's ἀνάγκα. Segal (*ibid.*) maintains that the ''severer, commanding aspect of Zeus ... retreats behind the fostering presence of the god''. He refers (235-6) to ''his presence at various points throughout the ode'', but apart from 28 Zeus is mentioned at 17 and 19 only, and this does not warrant the assumption of his ''fostering presence'' at 31-4 and his influence on the friendliness of the Dioscuri and Artemis.

G. Devereux, RhM 109 (1966), 289-98 = *Tragédie et poésie grecques* (Paris 1975), 183-94, argues that δέξατο is ambiguous ('receive friendly'—'receive with hostilities') and that the poet intentionally left

66 n. 2) wrongly denies this connection and is forced to assume ''gleitende Übergänge'' and ''leichte Umordnung'' (it would be more correct to speak of 'Unordnung': cf. the critical remarks made by Robbins, 296-7), whereas in reality the text has a perfectly logical order.

[38] But Eurystheus had instructed him to bring it alive (Apollod. *Bibl.* II 5, 3). Euripides (*H.F.* 378) makes him kill the hind, but this ''is apparently his own invention'' (Rose, *Handbook of Gr. Myth.*, 212).

the choice between these meanings to the reader, thus saving both the mythological tradition of a hostile encounter between Heracles and Apollo and Artemis, and his own principle that the gods are free from brute force. But (1) the hostile sense of δέχομαι (LSJ II 2) implies that the adversary is attacking, and in the present case the attack is started by Apollo, (2) the vase paintings mentioned by Devereux do not clearly show Artemis partaking in the fight, and (3) Apollodorus (*Bibl.* II 5, 3), the only literary source of the story, does not speak of a fight, but says that Heracles was reprimanded (κατεμέμφετο) by Artemis for having caught the hind, but that, by pleading necessity and laying the blame on Eurystheus, he succeeded in appeasing her anger (cf. also Robbins, 301-2).

Pindar suppresses this anger: for his purification of the gods cf. Dorns., *P.S.*, 126-8, van der Kolf (above, on 16 λόγῳ), 7-41, Gund., 47-50, 58-60, Bowra, 285-7[39]. It certainly has a wider purpose than to "subordinate the violent action of the chase ... toward the benevolent attitude set in the whole poem" (Segal, 230). Segal is also wrong in thinking that Artemis here acts "as the protector of animals", and that "it is the fertilizing, fostering role in which she appears here, interceding with the hunter for the hunted animal" (231-2, quoted with approval by Bern., 69-70): she is acting as the owner of a votive offering (see below, on 29) which she wants to get back undamaged.

27: δειρᾶν. Cf. Hom. A 499 πολυδειράδος Οὐλύμποιο.

27: μυχῶν. 'Deep valleys': cf. Xen. *An.* IV 1, 7 τὰς κώμας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄγκεσί τε καὶ μυχοῖς τῶν ὀρέων.

28: ἀγγελίαις. Described at Hom. O 639-40. The dative is instrumental (Dorns. 'durch die Aufträge') rather than causal (Bo. 'on the command of'; similarly Fenn., Pu., We.). For the plural (Gild.: "of an impressive message") see above, on 6 στέφανοι. Similarly *I.* 7, 41 ἀγγελίαι.

28: ἔντυε. 'Forced': cf. *P.* 9, 66, Theogn. 196. The construction with a participle seems to be based on the analogy of παρασκευάζομαι with participle (cf. K.G. II, 59).

28: ἀνάγκα πατρόθεν. Cf. *N.* 4, 61 τὸ μόρσιμον Διόθεν πεπρωμένον. Gild.'s note, "The ἀνάγκα bound sire as well as son", is misleading, for ἀνάγκα does not refer to the oath sworn by Zeus (Hom. T 113) but to the pressure exerted by Zeus on Heracles. Segal (233-4) thinks that the phrase "serves as a reminder of the enmity of Hera toward Heracles", but that "this faint allusion to the hostility of Hera is canceled by the

[39] See also G. Pini, Vichiana 4 (1967), 339-82, 5 (1968), 189-91, J. Defradas, L'information litt. 21 (1969), 130 ff.

benevolence of the other female figure, Artemis". It would be more realistic to say that Pindar simply ignores the part played by Hera, because he discards any trace of discord among the gods from the myths.

Robbins (297) rightly points out the contrast between 25 θυμός and 28 ἀνάγκα, but wrongly suggests that this contrast corresponds with that between the toil (πόνος) preceding the victory and the joy following the victory, and with that between the duty imposed on the poet (7 χρέος) and his joyful mood (38 θυμός) in speaking about Theron's victory. These analogies are the products of fanciful thinking: (1) the victor's toil is a self-imposed task, not the result of external compulsion, (2) ἀνάγκη would be too heavy a term to denote the poet's duty, (3) θυμός is the organ giving rise to an initiative, and as such has nothing to do with joy, (4) the repetition of a common word such as θυμός cannot be used to support the assumption of structural parallels.

29: χρυσόκερων. "The fact that the hind should have horns ... is probably a mere freak" (Farn.; for parallels cf. Segal, 261 n. 73, Bond on E. *H.F.* 375-9), but Pindar may have thought of a reindeer (cf. Robbins, 301 n. 20, Bond on E. *H.F.* 375-9). Farn.'s suggestion that "the golden horns might be a reminiscence of the old sacrificial custom ... of wrapping gold leaf round the horns of the victim" is supported by LSJ II (cf. also Robbins, 302-3). Segal (234) rightly observes that gold is a symbol of the divine (see above, on 19 χρυσάρματος), but his remark that "the grasping of horns from earliest times was the way of drawing the animal vitality of nature into oneself" (similarly Robbins, *Intimations*, 227 n. 36) is irrelevant, for we need not suppose that Heracles caught the animal by grasping the horns.

29: Ταϋγέτα. "One of the Pleiades ... In order to escape the pursuit of Zeus, she was changed by Artemis into a doe, and after she returned to her human form she consecrated a doe to the goddess" (Gild.). See further Wil., 238-9, Segal, 233. I do not believe that "Taygete's appearance in the Third Olympian is hard to explain until we remember that she is genealogically linked to the Tyndarids and Helen, with whom the poem opens" (Robbins, 299): Pindar inserts his story of Heracles' visit to the Hyperboreans into a traditional tale, and in order to give it the appearance of belonging to that tale he mentions some details familiar to the audience.

30: ἀντιθεῖσα. A contraction of ἀνατιθεῖσα: the alternative explanation given by the schol., 'placing in return' (scil. for the kindness of the goddess) cannot be paralleled.

30: 'Ορθωσίᾳ. Ahrens' emendation 'Ορθωσίας (adopted by Gal., Sn. M.) is unnecessary: for the hiatus cf. *O.* 6, 82 γλωσσᾷ ἀκόνας, *N.* 6, 4, *I.* 1, 16. The name (equivalent to 'Ορθία) is explained by Farn, as 'she

who makes upright', 'she who preserves order', and he thinks that "it might even have a medical sense, 'she who restores the sick' ". He compares Asclepius Ὄρθιος and Poseidon Ὀρθώσιος. Cf. also *O.* 2, 7 ὀρθόπολις, *N.* 11, 5 ὀρθὰν φυλάσσειν Τένεδον, S. *Ant.* 162-3 τὰ μὲν δὴ πόλεος ἀσφαλῶς θεοὶ / πολλῷ σάλῳ σείσαντες ὤρθωσαν πάλιν, Democr. B 252 πόλις γὰρ εὖ ἀγομένη μεγίστη ὀρθωσίς ἐστι. The translation 'she who makes things grow' has been defended by connecting ὀρθός with Skr. *várdhati* 'to make grow' and by referring to Artemis' function as a goddess of fertility[40], but it may be objected that ὀρθός and ὀρθόω never refer to growth, although the verb can refer to prosperity (*N.* 1, 15). Jur.'s suggestion 'die Gradaustreibende', 'die Förderin' may be defended by comparing the use of ὀρθόω in the sense of 'guide aright', 'bring to a happy end' (LSJ II 2). On the other hand, Köhnken (*Third Olympian*, 63) goes much too far in arguing that the epithet alludes to the fact that Artemis helps to give success in the chariot race. He himself admits that in the context of the story of Taygeta the word refers to σωτηρία (schol.) rather than to success, and I cannot believe that at the same time "it is linked to ἱπποσόα [26], the latter epithet determining the area in which Artemis is said to 'set straight' or 'exalt' ".

30: **ἔγραψεν.** 'Offered' (Bo.; similarly We., Nis.) is too general: the schol. tells us that there was an inscription on the hind's collar (for a similar case cf. Paus. VIII 10, 10). For the construction cf. Hdt. VII 214, 3 τοῦτον αἴτιον γράφω, LSJ A II 3.

30: **ἱεράν.** For the synizesis cf. Schr., *Prol.*, 25.

31: **μεθέπων.** Cf. C. J. Classen, *Untersuchungen zu Platons Jagdbildern* (Berlin 1960), 6 n. 5: "Auffallend ist die Vermeidung technischer Termini in Jagdschilderungen (O. 3, 31 ff., N. 3, 50 ff., Fr. 106 und 107 a Snell), z.B. μεθέπειν statt μεταθεῖν, ἐπιτρέχειν statt ἰχνεύειν; die Fachausdrücke werden eher in übertragener Bedeutung gebraucht".

31: **ἴδε.** 'He had seen': see above, on 27 δέξατο.

31: **καί.** Not 'even' (Fenn.) but 'also', i.e. in addition to the other countries which he had crossed.

31: **κείναν.** Refers back to 14: cf. Illig, 58 and n. 2.

31: **πνοιαῖς.** The emendation πνοιᾶς (Gild.) is unnecessary: cf. Cratin. 32 τούτοισι δ' ὄπισθεν ἴτω. Similarly ἄγχι, ἀγχοῦ, and πέλας with dative (*N.* 6, 9, *N.* 9, 40, *O.* 7, 18, *N.* 11, 4). Cf. K.G. I, 408.

31: **ὄπιθεν.** 'Further than', not "to emphasize Herakles' devotion to his sire" (Gild.), but an etymology of the Hyperboreans: cf. Barkhuizen,

[40] Cf. W. Vollgraff, *Le décret d'Argos relatif à un pacte entre Knossos et Tylissos*, Verh. Kon. Ned. Akad.v.Wet., afd. Lett. N.R. 51:2 (1948), 37-8, Nilsson, 486 ff., Chantraine, 819, Segal, 232.

94-5, who suggests that the value of the olive is enhanced by its remote origin.

31: Βορέα. For this form of the genitive cf. Ἀΐδα, Κρονίδα, Schr., *Prol.*, 25.

32: ψυχροῦ. Köhnken (*Third Olympian*, 57) argues that this does not have a negative connotation, coolness being a traditional element in the description of a *locus amoenus*. This can hardly be correct: (1) Boreas is a stormy and cold (not cool) wind: it is significant that coolness is brought to the Elysian fields by Zephirus (Hom. δ 567-8), not by Boreas. (2) The Hyperboreans are living beyond (ὄπιθεν) the sphere of influence of Boreas, just as the summit of mount Olympus is beyond atmospherics: cf. Hom. ζ 43 οὔτ' ἀνέμοισι τινάσσεται.

32: θάμβαινε. The variant θαύμαινε is also found at Hom. *H. Ven.* 84. J. van Eck, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (Diss. Utrecht 1978), 37, rightly prefers θάμβαινε at *H. Ven.* 84, but thinks that "θαυμαίνω 'admire', 'gaze' seems more appropriate to the context of the Pindaric passage". But Heracles had never seen an olive, so that he may well have been astounded at the sight.

32: σταθείς. Not 'he halted and ...' (most translators) but rather 'halting', 'so that he halted' (cf. *N.* 1, 55-6 ἔστα δὲ θάμβει ... μιχθείς): the coincident aorist participle (see above, on 3 ὀρθώσαις) can express "die Art und Weise ... sowie überhaupt einen Nebenumstand" (K.G. II, 86, who refer to Hom. A 596 μειδήσασα δὲ παιδὸς ἐδέξατο χειρὶ κύπελλον). The fact that the tense of the leading verb has durative force does not seem to me to constitute an objection: cf. *O.* 1, 91-2 μέμικται ... κλιθείς (where Gerber is wrong in taking the participle to have ingressive force: cf. S. *Tr.* 99-101 ναίει ... κλιθείς, rightly taken by Jebb to mean 'resting'). Similarly Hom. ε 75, η 133 στὰς θηεῖτο.

33: τῶν. Commonly connected with ἵμερος, but it may at the same time be the object of φυτεῦσαι: cf. *O.* 1, 50-1 χρεῶν ... διεδάσαντο, K.G. I, 345, Schw. II, 103.

33: γλυκὺς ἵμερος. A Homeric phrase (Γ 139, 446, Ξ 328, 501, χ 500). The desire is 'sweet' because one thinks of its fulfilment, not "because its intent is benevolent" and "because its fulfilment is made possible by the total gentleness of the divine order" (Segal, 235).

33: ἔσχεν. Scil. when he realized that there were no suitable trees at Olympia (23-4). Robbins (298) rightly points out that there is no difficulty in taking ἵμερος ἔσχεν to refer back to 25 θυμὸς ὥρμα.

33: δωδεκάγναμπτον. Cf. *O.* 2, 50 τεθρίππων δωδεκαδρόμων, *O.* 6, 75 δωδέκατον δρόμον.

33: τέρμα. Not 'goal' (most translators), for that is turned only eleven times: cf. H. M. Lee, JHS 96 (1976), 78, who points out that the

turning-point at the east side of the stadium must be meant. According to the schol., that place was called τὸ Πάνθειον, ἐν ᾧ πεφύτευται ἡ ἐλαία, ἣν δρέπει ἀμφιθαλὴς παῖς χρυσῷ δρεπάνῳ, κλάδους ιζ′ τέμνων, ὅσα καὶ τὰ ἀγωνίσματα[41]. But Heracles wishes to plant more than one olive, and v. 18 suggests that he wanted the trees to be planted around the whole stadium. In that case τέρμα might mean 'boundary-line' (cf. *P.* 9, 114 ἐν τέρμασιν ... ἀγῶνος 'within the limits of the field': cf. Lee, *loc. cit.*) and δωδεκάγαμπτον could be taken to belong to δρόμου rather than to τέρμα: for enallage in Pindar cf. Dorns., *P.S.*, 39-40.

34: **φυτεῦσαι.** For the epexegetic use of the infinitive cf. S. *El.* 542-3 ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν Ἅιδης τιν' ἵμερον τέκνων/ ἢ τῶν ἐκείνης ἔσχε δαίσασθαι πλέον; and K.G. II, 576-7.

34: **καί νυν.** Not 'auch jetzt' (Dorns., We., Schad.) but 'so, now' (similarly *O.* 7, 13, *P.* 4, 42): his interest in the Olympic games induces him to witness them. For the consecutive use of καί cf. K.G. II, 248, and my notes on Men. *Epitr.* 114, Mnem. IV 27 (1974), 23, and Hes. *Op.* 158 and 275.

The meaning of νυν is 'at this occasion', 'in the present case' rather than 'at this moment': cf. *O.* 7, 13, *O.* 11, 11, *O.* 14, 15, *I.* 2, 43, Bundy, I, 5 n. 18, and my notes on Men. *Epitr.* 346, Mnem. IV 27 (1974), 32, and Hes. *Op.* 202, 268, 270, 275. For the enclitic form used in spite of the emphatic meaning cf. *O.* 10, 78, *P.* 11, 44, LSJ II, Schr., *Prol.*, 34, and Radt's note on *Pae.* 6, 58.

Bundy (I, 5 n. 1) goes much too far in arguing that the phrase marks the tale of Heracles' planting of olives at Olympia a mere "foil for the topic of particular interest": the tale also has an interest as such.

34: **ταύταν.** Not the Theoxenia (e.g. Gild., Farn., Wil., 237), but the Olympic games: cf. Köhnken, *Third Olympian*, 59 n. 44, who points out that 36 γάρ implies the identity of the ἑορτά with the Olympic festival[42]. Me. objects that "Pindar gebraucht ἑορτή nur von Götterfesten", but Robbins (*Intimations*, 221) rightly points out (1) "that Pindar commonly uses ἑορτά to refer to festivals at which athletic contests were held", and (2) that in such cases "the religious sense of ἑορτά remains paramount". Nevertheless he takes (222-3) ταύταν to refer to the Theoxenia: (1) for οὗτος equivalent to ὅδε he refers to Slater, 401-2, but I doubt whether ταύταν can denote a celebration "which the audience hearing the Third Olympian was attending as it listened". (2) I also fail to see why it is

[41] According to Pausanias (V 15, 3), however, the crowns came from a special tree behind the temple of Zeus.

[42] Cf. also Jaufmann, who rightly observes (39): "Die Erzählung 'Herakles in Olympia' mündet aus in die Gegenwart der Spiele, die in ihrem unmittelbaren Hervortreten aus dem Mythos erhöht wird".

"more natural" to take νυν as referring to a special occasion than as a generalized present. (3) "In line 10 songs come (νίσονται) to honour the victor, who has just been named. Heracles and the Dioscuri come to honour the victor too". This is based on a misunderstanding: 11 ᾧ τινι refers to any victor, not to Theron exclusively, and νίσονται has the connotation of 'regularly'. Similarly, it is more natural to say that Heracles 'regularly goes' (34) to Olympia than to Agrigentum. (4) Robbins writes that the Dioscuri "are welcome participants in the city's rejoicing because (γάρ, 36) they have an official connection with the games where the victory was won". But γάρ does not explain the coming of the Dioscuri, but the fact that Heracles joins them.

34: **νίσεται.** See above, on 10 νίσονται.

35: **σύν.** Does not denote mere cooperation, but rather the fact that divine help is of decisive importance: cf. Strohm, 38 n. 25: "Weniger die Begleitung als die ursächliche Mitwirkung, auch die Gnade, die Macht eben etwa eines Gottes wird so bezeichnet". Similarly *O*. 10, 21 and 105, *O*. 14, 5, *N*. 5, 54. See also Radt, 126-7, LSJ A 2. For the idea of divine help see further note on 4 παρέστα.

35: **βαθυζώνου.** Tur., Sn.M., Gal., We. read βαθυζώνοιο, but the correspondence of epitrite and choriambus has to be accepted because at *P*. 3, 6 -αρχέος 'Ασ- and *P*. 4, 184 -σιν πόθον ἐν- emendation is impossible. Similarly Alcm. 1, 91, Bacch. 5, 151, A. *Pr*. 399. The fact that we find a choriambus between epitrites (e.g. *O*. 13, 19, *P*. 1, 2) or an epitrite between choriambi (Ar. *Nub*. 516) shows that the two metres were regarded as cognate. See further Wil., *Versk*., 433-4, Schr., *Appendix*, 502-5, R. Führer, *Beiträge zur Metrik und Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker* (Göttingen 1976), 247-50. Schr. (*Prol*., 13) speaks of 'metathesis', but from a musical point of view it is easier to assume the lengthening of a short syllable, as is suggested by W. J. W. Koster, *Traité de métrique grecque* ([3]Leiden 1962), 188.

The meaning of βαθύζωνος is not 'slim-waisted' (Nis.)[43], for βαθύ- must refer to a low position of the girdle: cf. βαθύκολπος and Hdt. VI 125, 3 κόλπον βαθὺν καταλειπόμενος τοῦ κιθῶνος[44]. This view seems to be corroborated by Hom. ε 231 περὶ δὲ ζώνην βάλετ' ἰξυῖ, for Hipp. *Fract*. 20 ἀμφὶ τὸ ἰσχίον καὶ τὰς ἰξύας shows that ἰξύς refers to the loins rather than to the waist.

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[43] Similarly Le. 'slanciata', R. Führer in *Lex.frühgr.Ep*. II, 2, 'mit tiefeinschneidendem Gürtel', referring to S. Marinatos, *Arch. Hom*. I A (1967), 12.

[44] See also K. Nawratil, WS 72 (1959), 165-8. It is true that in Geometric art the girdle is round the waist, but in some specimens of Minoan and Mycenaean art (e.g. the sitting goddess from Mycenae, Inv. Nr. 5879, Marinatos-Hirmer, *Kreta und das mykenische Hellas*, pl. 217) it is at a lower place, and the epithet might have been intended to express this contrast.

36: νέμειν. See above, on 1 Τυνδαρίδαις.

37: ἀρετᾶς. 'Outstanding ability': see above, on 18 ἀρετᾶν.

37: καί. 'And particularly': διφρηλασία is the supreme ἀρετά. For this use of καί see my notes on Hes. *Th.* 33, Mnem. IV 25 (1972), 240, and *Op.* 382, and the references given there. Consequently, Me.'s and Gild.'s suggestion that ἀρετᾶς especially refers to wrestling and boxing is wrong.

37: ῥιμφαρμάτου. For the pleonasm -αρμ- διφρ- cf. fr. 108 b, 3 κελαινεφέϊ σκότει and Dorns., *P.S.*, 27-8. For the use of the adjective instead of the genitive of a substantive (ῥίμφα φερομένων ἁρμάτων) cf. S. *O.C.* 1063-4 ῥιμφαρμάτοις ... ἁμίλλαις, K.G. I, 261-3.

38: δ' ὦν. There is no need to assimilate the Doric form to *P.* 9, 103 ἐμὲ δ' οὖν, as is suggested by Schr., *Prol.*, 24. The meaning is probably resumptive: cf. Denn., 463: "δ' οὖν leads back to the main topic, which has temporarily been lost sight of".

38: διφρηλασίας. They had an altar near the start of the horse-races (Paus. V 15, 5).

38: πᾳ. Wrongly altered into τᾷ (scil. διφρηλασίᾳ, Jur.), καί (Schr.) or πάρ (Gild.): see above, on 4 ποι. Fenn.'s comment, "he is impelled, he knows not how", is misleading: Pindar knew very well what he was doing.

38: θυμός. Not 'Mut' (Dorns., Schad.) but 'impulse', 'desire': see above, on 25 θυμός.

39: τε. 'And especially': cf. *O.* 7, 52 ἑρπόντεσσι τε, Hes. *Op.* 92, Theogn. 200, A. *Ag.* 514. See further Slater, 489.

39: ἐλθεῖν. 'Fall to': cf. *O.* 1, 100, Sol. 1 D. = 13 W., 11 and 3 D. = 4 W., 17, Theogn. 50, A. *Suppl.* 1032, E. *Med.* 419.

39: εὐίππων. Not 'with good horses' (most translators) but 'knowing how to manage horses': cf. *O.* 8, 47 Ἀμαζόνας εὐίππους, *P.* 2, 5 εὐάρματος Ἱέρων, *I.* 2, 17 εὐάρματον ἄνδρα, *O.* 1, 73 Εὐτρίαιναν, *O.* 9, 111 εὔχειρα, *N.* 10, 38 εὐάγων τιμά, A. *Suppl.* 775 εὐγλώσσῳ φρενί.

39: διδόντων. The participial clause expresses the main idea of the sentence: see above, on 4 εὑρόντι. The Dioscuri originally gave victory in military combats (Nilsson, 410-1), but their role was apparently extended to sporting-contests (cf. also *N.* 10, 38).

39: βροτῶν. For this addition to the superlative cf. K.G. I, 20-1, S. R. Slings on Pl. *Clit.* 410 b 4-6.

40: ξεινίαις ...τραπέζαις. At the Theoxenia.

40: ἐποίχονται. Fenn. thinks that the preposition implies the notion of reciprocity. He compares *P.* 2, 24, but there ἀμοιβαῖς, not ἐποιχομένους, expresses reciprocity. The idea is simply that in order to treat the Dioscuri to a dinner one has to go to their temple.

41: εὐσεβεῖ. Le. thinks that their piety reflects the piety of Heracles (19), but the text does not suggest such a connection.

41: γνώμᾳ. 'Mentality', 'spirit': cf. LSJ II 2.

41: φυλάσσοντες. 'Observe', 'maintain': cf. *I.* 2, 9, LSJ B 3. For piety as a *topos* of praise cf. *O.* 6, 94-6, *I.* 2, 39.

41: τελετάς. Not 'mysteries' (Bo., Latt.; Schad. 'Weihen') but 'feasts': cf. *O.* 10, 51, *P.* 9, 79, LSJ II. The original meaning is 'accomplishment', 'performance': cf. C. Zijderveld, Τελετή (Pumerend 1934). A religious feast is a τελετή because it is based on the performance of rites. See also P. Boyancé, *Le culte des Muses chez les philosophes grecs* (Paris 1937), 42-9.

42. A self-quotation (cf. *O.* 1, 1-2), just as *O.* 8, 66, *N.* 6, 9. Me. argues that "die wiederholte Erwähnung des Wassers und Goldes, als der in ihrer Art vorzüglichsten Dinge, ist so wenig auffallend, als die öftere Nennung der Säulen des Herakles" (similarly Jur.), but the latter is a *topos*, the former not. On the other hand, I doubt whether Bowra (120) is right in thinking that "it looks as if Pindar deliberately sought to catch Theron's attention by suggesting that he rivals Hieron in the glory of his victory", so that "Theron should have no uneasy qualms that Hieron has been more handsomely treated than himself": Pindar's mind is free from such primitive means of flattery.

For the priamel cf. *O.* 11, 1-3, Dorns., *P.S.*, 97-8, Viljoen, 16 n. 4, Fränkel, *W.u.F.*, 68-9, Bundy, I, 4-10, T. Krischer, *Die logischen Formen der Priamel*, Graz. Beitr. 2 (1974), 79-91, espec. 88 ff., whose assumption of an antithesis between water (abundant) and gold (scarce), and between gold (material) and victory (moral), does not seem to me relevant: Pindar illustrates the importance of an Olympian victory by paralleling it with the generally acknowledged value of two other goods. It may be added that this is not a mere figure of style, for "er glaubt daran, dass alles Grösste und Herrlichste irgendwie zusammenhängt" (Fränkel, *W.u.F.*, 69)[45].

42: εἰ. Virtually equivalent to 'while': cf. *O.* 1, 3 and Gerber *ad loc.*

42: ἀριστεύει. Pindar considers water, just as gold and, indirectly, the victor's fame, from a utilitarian point of view. Similarly *O.* 11, 1-2 ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις ἀνέμων ὅτε πλεῖστα / χρῆσις· ἔστιν δ' οὐρανίων ὑδάτων. For ἀριστεύω 'to be most profitable' cf. *N.* 1, 14 ἀριστεύοισαν εὐκάρπου χθονός. For ἀγαθός 'profitable' cf. my note on Hes. *Op.* 24. On the other hand,

[45] See also W. Kröhling, *Die Priamel (Beispielreihung) als Stilmittel in der griechisch-römischen Dichtung* (Greifswald 1935), Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 900, U. Schmid, *Die Priamel der Werte im Griechischen* (Wiesbaden 1964), W. H. Race, *The Classical Priamel from Homer to Boethius* (Leiden 1981), espec. 73-6, Gerber on *O.* 1, 1-7.

there is a contrast between gold as something acquired (**κτέανον**) and water as the most excellent, i.e. the most useful and indispensable, of *natural* goods[46].

42: ὕδωρ. Gild. (on *O*. 1, 1) rightly notes: "No profound philosophical tenet is involved ... The poet emphasizes, after the Greek fashion, water as the source and substance of life"[47]. Fränkel (538-9) seems to me wrong in assuming a special influence of Heraclitus on Pindar[48]. Norwood (45) rightly points out Pindar's scientific backwardness, but wrongly concludes that he "did not know how to think" (46)[49].

42: αἰδοιέστατος. The reading αἰδοιέστατον (Fenn., Gild.) is a *lectio facilior*. Gold is honoured not only from a commercial point of view but also as a symbol of divine radiance and imperishableness: cf. *O*. 1, 1-2 αἰθόμενον πῦρ / ἅτε διαπρέπει, *I*. 5, 1-3, fr. 222 Διὸς παῖς ὁ χρυσός (Wil., 491 n. 1, rightly: "weil Gold unvergänglich ist"), and above, on 19 χρυσάρματος. This explains the use of such phrases as *P*. 3, 73 ὑγίειαν χρυσέαν, *O*. 11, 13 χρυσέας ἐλαίας. See further Duchemin, 194 ff., 223 ff. (who wrongly ignores the commercial aspect), Dodds on E. *Ba*. 553[50]. Segal (239) wrongly thinks that "the adjective suggests a moral frame of reference comprehensible within the social framework of human life": αἰδώς may occur in a moral context, but the notion as such is neutral, referring to all kinds of respect. See further my article Αἰδώς *bei Homer*, Mnem. III 12 (1944), 47-60, my remarks in Mnem. IV 10 (1957), 250

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[46] W. H. Race, GRBS 22 (1981), 119-24, who rightly points out that we should not mentally supply τῶν στοιχείων or πάντων but should adopt the interpretation suggested by the schol. on *O*. 1, 1: ἄριστον, scil. τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ (cf. *O*. 11, 1 ἀνθρώποις) εἰς τὸ ζῆν (cf. *I*. 1, 47-51).

[47] Similarly Wil., 491, K. Dietel, *Das Gleichnis in der frühen griechischen Lyrik* (Würzburg 1939), 122. For the importance of water in Greek life cf. M. Ninck, *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten*, Philol. Suppl. 14:2 (1921), T. R. Glover, *Springs of Hellas* (Cambridge 1945), ch. I, J. Rudhardt, *Le thème de l'eau primordiale dans la mythologie grecque* (Bern 1971), and my essay *De Adem Gods*, Meded. Kon. Ned. Akad.v.Wet., afd. Lett. N.R. 36:8 (1973), 17 ff. See also Gerber on *O*. 1, 1. Water is a favourite symbol for poetry in Pindar (see note on *O*. 7, 2 ἀμπέλου), but Gerber (*loc. cit.*) rightly observes that "it is scarcely possible that he could have expected his audience to see in the bald 'water is best' the idea that 'poetry is best' ". Br.'s contention (123), "l'eau est une métonymie des rapports sociaux fondés sur la terre et sur la femme mariée comme reproductrice de ces rapports sociaux", is a product of the sociologism which vitiates his whole book.

[48] For the relation between Pindar and the Presocratics cf. Dorns., *P.S.* 75, Schmid, 551, Gund., 55-7, Strohm, 20-3.

[49] His remark (49), "a writer who uses the same word [ἀρετή] for merit and for success puts himself hopelessly out of court as an exponent of ethics", is especially inapposite: see above, on 18 ἀρετᾶν.

[50] Cf. also H. L. Lorimer, *Gold and Ivory in Greek Mythology*, in *Greek Poetry and Life* (Oxford 1936), 30 ff. Duchemin (*Orient*, 116 and 128 n. 22) thinks that the idea of gold as a symbol of the divine has a Near-Eastern origin, but I doubt whether such suggestions can be proved.

and Lampas 5 (1972), 114, and my note on Pind. *N.* 11, 45 **ἀναιδεῖ**, ICS 7, 1 (1982), 35.

43: νῦν. See above, on 34 καί νυν.

43: δέ. Fenn. and Tur. read γε, but for apodotic δέ (a weak form of δή) cf. K.G. II, 277, Schw. II, 562, Denn., 177-81, and my note on Hes. *Op.* 23. Latt.'s 'still' and Conw.'s 'yet' spoil the priamel, the function of which is to parallel, not to contrast.

43: ἀρεταῖσιν. The use of νῦν implies that ἀρεταῖσιν refers to his sporting qualities and success (see above, on 18 ἀρετᾶν). Bowra (186) seems to me wrong in thinking that Pindar may also allude to his military qualities, and certainly wrong in suggesting that the use of ἀρετά for both military and athletic qualities implies that Pindar deliberately identified the two.

44: οἴκοθεν. Does not emphasize the long distance (Me.)[51] and hence the difficulty of the task (Fenn., Gild.) but the fact that the victory was gained by his inherited, i.e. his own, efforts (Becker, 60 n. 26, 65, 74 n. 65, Le., Slater)[52]. Farn. objects that "then the word would be otiose[53], for Theron's glory could not be extended by other people's virtues" and concludes that "the word means what it says—'from his own home', indicating the starting-place of the path of his glory". But this starting-place does not have purely local force, for οἴκοθεν is equivalent to φυᾷ: cf. *P.* 8, 44 φυᾷ ... ἐκ πατέρων. This idea is a *topos* in Pindar: cf. *N.* 3, 31 οἴκοθεν μάτευε, *N.* 7, 51-2 ὁδὸν κυρίαν λόγων / οἴκοθεν (a story the authoritativeness of which is based on their own achievements), *N.* 2, 7 πατρίαν ... καθ' ὁδόν. See further Gund., 15 ff.

44-5. For gnomic utterances concluding an ode cf. Bundy I, 28.

44: Ἡρακλέος. Bernard (82) observes: "Herakles, der Stifter des Ölbaums, ist zugleich auch der Stifter der Grenzen und der menschlichen Ordnung" (similarly Segal, 242: "Herakles knew where to stop"), but such a connection is unlikely to be intended, the Pillars of Heracles being a common symbol for the limits of the human world: cf. *N.* 3, 20-1, *I.* 3, 29-30. Norwood (45) mentions these passages as a proof

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[51] He refers to *I.* 3-4, 29-30 ἐσχάταισιν / οἴκοθεν στάλαισιν ἅπτονθ' Ἡρακλείαις, but the metaphorical sense (see on 44 Ἡρακλέος) extends to οἴκοθεν. Latt.'s 'has come home to' is obviously impossible.

[52] M. S. Silk, *Interaction in Poetic Imagery, with special reference to early Greek poetry* (Cambridge 1974), 137 n. 8, thinks that both meanings ('from home' and 'by his own powers') are intended and adds the remark that "scholars have yet to learn the basic truth of literature, that 'alternatives' are not necessarily, or even usually, mutually exclusive". But there is another, and more basic, truth, that the meaning attributed to a word should be relevant and apposite: the addition of 'from home' to 'he made a far journey' is not only redundant but almost inept.

[53] Perhaps for this reason the word is omitted by Nis.

of Pindar's intellectual backwardness (see above, on 42 ὕδωρ), for Herodotus (e.g. IV 42) knew that one could pass the Straits of Gibraltar. It should be observed, however, that these and other spatial limits have the symbolic value of *ne plus ultra*: cf. Becker, 60, Fränkel, 562-3, Bowra, 190, 253, Gianotti, 26-8, Le., D. C. Young, *Pindar, Isthmian 7* (Leiden 1971), 29, and Gerber on *O.* 1, 114 (who is wrong, however, in arguing that the purpose of the warning "is encomiastic rather than admonitory").

44: σοφοῖς. Not 'wise' (most translators), 'hommes supérieurs' (Pu.), 'poets' (Fenn.), but 'experts' (scil. in sailing). For this (original) meaning of σοφός cf. Arist. *EN* 1141 a 12 (σοφία) ἀρετὴ τέχνης ἐστίν, Archil. 44 D. = 211 W. κυβερνήτης σοφός, and B. Snell, *Die Ausdrücke für den Begriff des Wissens in der vorplatonischen Philosophie* (Berlin 1924), 5 ff.[54].

45: κασόφοις. The Greeks like to express the ideas of 'every', 'all', and 'nobody' by means of an antithesis, one member of which is often less relevant than the other, or even illogical: cf. *N.* 7, 3 οὐ φάος, οὐ μέλαιναν δρακέντες εὐφρόναν, *O.* 7, 90, *P.* 10, 10, Hom.φ 65-6 οὔ τινα γὰρ τίεσκον ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων, / οὐ κακὸν οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν, A. *Sept.* 795-6 πόλις δ' ἐν εὐδίᾳ τε καὶ κλυδωνίου / πολλαῖσι πληγαῖς ἄντλον οὐκ ἐδέξατο, S. *Ant.* 1108 ἴτ' ἴτ' ὀπάονες, οἵ τ' ὄντες οἵ τ' ἀπόντες, K.G. II, 586-8, Bruhn, § 221, 228, Wilamowitz on E. *H.F.* 1106, Bundy I, 32 n. 78, Fehling, 274 ff.[55].

45: οὐ. The asyndeton has consecutive force (see above, on 24 τούτων) and here marks the conclusion: cf. *O.* 1, 114, *P.* 2, 49, *P.* 3, 59, and my note on Men. *Epitr.* 251, Mnem. IV 27 (1974), 28.

45: οὔ νιν διώξω. This means that Pindar will refrain from extending the praise of Theron beyond measure (Jur., Le.), but the use of the first person also implies an advice addressed to Theron: the poet counts on the victor's solidarity (φιλία) in observing the limits of human possibilities (καιρός). Cf. Gund., 33 ff., 66 ff., espec. 70-1[56]. I believe that this friendship was based on a true feeling and was not a conventional form of flattery, as is assumed by W. J. Slater, CJ 72 (1977), 197, who suggests that

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[54] See further B. Gladigow, *Sophia und Kosmos* (Hildesheim 1965), 9 ff., F. Maier, *Der σοφός-Begriff* (Augsburg 1970). For σοφός in Pindar see my note on *O.* 14, 7 and the literature mentioned there.

Race (above, n. 45), 75 n. 103, is certainly wrong in thinking that σοφοῖς at 43 "neatly echoes σοφίᾳ at *O.* 1.116".

[55] See further E. Kemmer, *Die polare Ausdrucksweise in der griechischen Literatur* (Würzburg 1903), 43, 101, J. B. Hofmann, Glotta 15 (1927), 45 ff., B. A. van Groningen, *De antithese als Griekse denkvorm*, Meded. Vlaamse Akad., Lett. 15:1 (1953), J. D. Meerwaldt, *Vormaspecten* (The Hague 1958), 71 ff., G. E. R. Lloyd, *Polarity and Analogy* (Cambridge 1966), 90 ff., S. Fogelmark, HSCP 83 (1979), 121-2.

[56] Cf. also Bernard, 19, Maehler, 88, Thummer, 101, 156-8, Bowra, 387-8, Gianotti, 14.

"since it was an axiom for Greeks that *xenoi* avoid envy and praise their hosts, therefore Pindar claims to be a *xenos* as an argument in favour of his encomium". Bowra (361) rightly observes that "there is no reason to think that some of his personal sentiments ... are not candid expressions of his own feelings"[57].

45: χεινός. The asyndeton has explanatory (motivating) force: see above, on 26 ἔνθα. Schr. and We. read χενεός (which is the transmitted form elsewhere in Pindar), but Homer has both forms, and the present χεινός may be an epic reminiscence.

45: εἴην. Farn. rightly argues that this cannot be a wish, as is assumed by Gild. and many others. For the omission of ἄν cf. *O.* 11, 20, *P.* 10, 21, *N.* 6, 65. It is doubted in Attic by K.G. I, 226, but rightly accepted by Schw. II, 325[58].

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[57] The analogy suggested by Segal (242), "sheltering men from 'the beyond', as Heracles shelters the Olympian grove from the sun", is an arbitrary construction.

[58] See further my note on A. *Pr.* 933 in *Miscellanea tragica in honorem J. C. Kamerbeek* (Amsterdam 1976), 469. To the literature mentioned there may be added J. M. Stahl, *Kritisch-historische Syntax des griechischen Verbums* (Heidelberg 1907), 299-302, J. Gonda, *The Character of the Indo-European Moods* (Wiesbaden 1956), 142-3, S. L. Radt on Hippocr. *VM* 48, 24, Mnem. IV 32 (1979), 100.

OLYMPIAN 7

Date

There is general agreement about 464, the date given by the schol.

Metre

The dactyloepitrites do not contain important anomalies, except at 86 Αἴγινα, where we find a choriambus instead of an epitrite: see the note *ad. loc.*

G. Zuntz, *Drei Kapitel zur griechischen Metrik* (Vienna 1984), 67, assumes two ionics at the beginning of 1 and 7, but these do not seem to go very well with the dactyls and trochees. Zuntz (81) compares A. *Suppl.* 1029, but such cases seem to be rather special.

Composition

Much ingenuity has been wasted on hunting after unifying elements, balancing contrasts, and hidden correspondences: see the commentary, *passim*. The unprejudiced reader will not have any difficulty in following the train of thought, if only he bears in mind the fact that the myth is told in a retrospective order (see note on 34 ποτε). For the function of the myth see note on 21 διορθῶσαι.

Commentary

1: φιάλαν. Nis.'s 'a golden bowl' spoils the archaic style of putting the main things first and appending the details: cf. e.g. Hom. O 344 τάφρῳ καὶ σκολόπεσσιν ἐνιπλήξαντες, ὀρυκτῇ, Hes. *Th.* 519 (unduly bracketed by Solmsen), *Op.* 406 (unduly bracketed by Solmsen), Sol. 1 D. = 13 W., 19 and 45, Hdt. VIII 32, 2 (where Powell wrongly suggests to transpose ἐπέφλεγον and ἔκειρον).

Dorns., Pu., Conw. think the comparison to imply that the ode was performed at a banquet. But then it should be concluded from the beginning of *O.* 6 that that ode was performed in front of a palace, which is obviously not the case. The main function of the comparison is to evoke the atmosphere of festivity and to suggest that the ode is an exquisite object of value, secondary points being the ideas of munificence and vitality implied in ἀφνειᾶς and ἀμπέλου (see below, *ad loc.*). But we should not press the details[1], as is done by Young (74), who argues that

[1] Rubin (70 n. 11) maintains that "the common ground between the two terms of the comparison is so carefully delineated that the details are indeed to be pressed", but she omits to show where the common ground is "so carefully delineated".

the offering of the cup symbolizes the continuity of the family. He refers to Hom. Z 220-1, but there the gift of a cup establishes a bond between two families, and this is also the case in the present passage, as is shown by 4 οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε[2]. Young (73 n. 4) further refers to Athen. 13, 575 d and 576 ab, but these passages do not prove that the offering of a bowl of wine symbolized the consummation of a wedding ceremony. Bern. (159 n. 6) argues that "il valore rituale del dono della coppa ... è confermato dall'uso del verbo ἱλάσκομαι (v. 9) nell'immagine corrispondente", but (1) such a correspondence is extremely doubtful (see above, n. 2), and (2) ἱλάσκομαι does not always have a sacral or ritual connotation (see below, *ad loc.*)[3].

A recent example of pressing the details of the comparison is the interpretation proposed by Brown, who concludes (50) that "there exists a strict parallelism between the figures in the simile and their counterparts later in the proem", and more especially that "the bridegroom, the image chosen to illumine the victor, embodies perfectly the characteristics of the victorious athlete". This conclusion is based on the following arguments: (1) 1 τις is "some intermediary figure who proposes the toast on behalf of the father of the bride" (39), just as the poet is an intermediary figure between the Muse and the victor (see note on *O.* 3, 4 παρέστα), the father of the bride being "an analogue for the Muses" (40). (2) 4 νεανίᾳ, reinforced by 5 νέον (see below, on 5 ἐόν), implies virility, a quality "which combines the notions of physical prowess and potency" (45). (3) "Physical prowess is a striking and essential quality of the athlete" (49), potency aims at immortality, achieved by the procreation of children in the case of the bridegroom, by lasting fame in the case of the victor (41 n. 16, where 6 ὁμόφρονος εὐνᾶς is assumed to suggest that "the groom has gained a fine bride who will bear outstanding children", 48-9). (4) "The bridegroom and the victor also share ὄλβος.

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[2] The difference between the two occasions and between the purposes of the two gifts are also neglected by Bern. (158), who takes 3 δωρήσεται to correspond to 9 ἱλάσκομαι, and 6 οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε to 10 'Ολυμπίᾳ Πυθοῖ τε.

[3] Defradas (36) writes: "on comprendra mieux sa présence au début de l'ode rhodienne si l'on se souvient de la phiale d'or offerte par Tlépolème à Athéna Lindia". But bowls of gold or silver were so commonly used as votive offerings (cf. e.g. Hdt. I 50, 1) that Pindar is unlikely to have alluded to a special object.

A. Hurst, in A. Hurst (ed.), *Pindare* (Entret. s. l'ant. class. 31, Vandoeuvres-Genève 1985), 175 n. 18, thinks that the golden bowl becomes more closely connected with the rest of the poem when it is observed that "l'or, qui rappelle évidemment la lumière d'Hélios dieu de Rhodes, scintille dans chacune des couches du temps mises en oeuvre dans cette ode". He refers to 32, 34, 64, but such formal considerations do not contribute to a deeper understanding of the poem; the relevance of gold is bound up with a specific context, and in the present case this is, as I observed above, the fact that both the bowl and the victory ode are precious objects.

In the proem this is said explicitly of the victor (10) and probably implied for the groom by his being made ζαλωτόν (6)". This construction soon collapses under a critical examination. Two observations seem to be sufficient: (a) If the 'intermediary figure' proposes the toast, he also hands over the golden bowl, and one does not understand why the father-in-law at such an important occasion keeps in the background. (b) Youth often, but not necessarily always, implies strength. It appears from *O.* 10, 86-7 that νεότης is the normal time for marriage and procreation. The present passage, however, does not hint at procreation (for 6 ὁμόφρονος see note *ad. loc.*), nor at physical strength.

1: ἀφνειᾶς. Not an enallage for 'the hand of a rich man', for the idea "dass die Schale als Erbstück einer reichen Familie von Generation zu Generation weitergegeben wird" (H. Maehler, Gnom. 42, 1970, 445) would be irrelevant in a comparison of Pindar's gift with that of a father-in-law. I agree with Young (72) that the meaning is 'munificent' (similarly Le.). The fact that the word elsewhere in Pindar means 'rich' does not imply that it must have the same meaning in the present passage, as is assumed by Braswell (233-4). It must be admitted that S. *El.* 457-8, referred to by Young, is not a conclusive parallel, but Pindar has a predilection for the causative use of adjectives: see below, on 11 ζωθάλμιος. The phrase implies that the poet, too, is munificent, i.e. lavish of his praise: cf. *O.* 11, 7 ἀφθόνητος αἶνος, *N.* 3, 9, *I.* 5, 24.

1: **ἀπὸ χειρός.** This cannot be connected with ἑλών and taken to mean 'taking in his hand' (Fenn., Pu., Farn., *et al.*), for the instrumental use of ἀπὸ χειρός is post-classical (LSJ A III 3). Brown (38) rightly observes that "in the early instances there seems always to be present a sense of the origin of an action"[4]. The connection with δωρήσεται only implies the idea of handing over and does not have the connotation of 'freely' (as is assumed by Gild., who refers to *O.* 6, 13 ἀπὸ γλώσσας, but this is pleonastic, just as *P.* 3, 2 ἀπὸ γλώσσας εὔξασθαι ἔπος). Cf. Young, 70 n. 3.

1: ἑλών. Cf. Hom. A 139 ἄξω ἑλών, etc. Young (70 n. 3) argues that ἑλών in Homer always implies violence, but cf. Γ72 κτήμαθ' ἑλὼν εὖ πάντα γυναῖκά τε οἴκαδ' ἀγέσθω, I 126 σῖτον ἑλὼν ἐπένειμε, etc. He further argues (71) that the order of the words points to ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἑλών, but it is well-known that the order of words is often very free in Pindar. Young finally points out that Pindar has received his gift from somebody else (7 Μοισᾶν δόσιν) and that χειρός refers to the slave who pours out the wine. But this would rank the Muse with a slave![5]

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[4] Fenn.'s explanation, "almost as if in the Dat., but indicating that wealth is the antecedent of which a rich present is the consequence", is a far-fetched solution.

[5] The difficulty is evaded by Bowra when he writes (25): "the poet receives it [the cup] from someone else who is not named beyond the hint of his wealth and must be some

I do not believe that the force of the aorist participle is coincident (Braswell, 235), for προπίνων comes between the taking and the giving of the bowl[6].

2: ἀμπέλου. Lawall (40) wrongly assumes a motif of vegetation recurring in 8 καρπόν, 11 ζωθάλμιος, 48, 93 σπέρμα, 34 βρέχε, 50 ὖσε, 69 βλάστε. It can only be said that Pindar has a predilection for metaphors taken from the domain of vegetation, but this does not yet constitute a motif.

Although wine was often assumed to have a sacral power[7], I doubt whether Bowra (25) is right in suggesting that the young bridegroom "passes into a new life". It is true that the offering of the cup was probably preceded by a libation, but this does not imply that "there appears to be a religious dimension to the toast", as is maintained by Brown (43). He thinks (44) that "the honour paid to the Charis of the symposium suggests the pouring of libations", but the context shows that τιμάσαις primarily refers to the *gift* of the cup. The evidence of the Greek text does not warrant the supposition that the religious aspect of the ceremony plays a functional role in the comparison.

It is more important to ask what is the function of wine in connection with poetry. Pindar repeatedly represents his poem as a drink or a stream of water, wine or honey: cf. *O.* 6, 91, *O.* 10, 85, *P.* 5, 99, *N.* 3, 77-8, *N.* 7, 12 and 62, *I.* 4, 90, *I.* 5, 24, *I.* 6, 2-3, 64, and 74-5, *I.* 7, 19 (see further Dorns., *P.S.*, 62, Gianotti, 110 ff.). Since water was regarded by the Greeks as the most elementary substance of life (see my note on *O.* 3, 42 ὕδωρ), it may be concluded that a victory ode was imagined to contain an elixir of life having the power of making the victor immortal by perpetuating his fame: cf. 7 νέκταρ, 11 ζωθάλμιος (see also Duchemin, 248-9, 274). The comparison has a second aspect, which is no less important: water is a medium of divine inspiration which brings the poet into contact with the universal life of the world[8]. The use of wine or honey instead of water is most naturally explained if these liquids are assumed

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divine patron". Br. (164) has recourse to a similar vagueness: "Le passage de la coupe des mains de l'homme riche et généreux dans celle du jeune fiancé nécessite donc le passage par un intermédiaire. L'absence d'identification précise des personnages donne à la scène un caractère général et abstrait". He further wrongly equates my view with that of Bowra and Young.

[6] But Le. 'e l'alzava brindano' is impossible.

[7] Cf. K. Kircher, *Die sakrale Bedeutung des Weines im Altertum* (RGVV IX 2: 1910), E. E. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, VI (New York 1956), 43 ff.

[8] Cf. my note on Hes. *Th.* 3 περὶ κρήνην, Mnem. IV 25 (1972), 227, and see further my essay *De adem Gods*, Meded. Kon. Ned. Akad. v. Wet., afd. Lett. N.R. 36:8 (1973), espec. 21-2.

to be 'pregnant' forms of water subject to a more direct and specific influence of the divine[9].

2: **δρόσῳ.** The word is occasionally used of liquids other than water (cf. LSJ I 3), but it may be doubted whether Waern (*O.* 3, n. 31), 84, is right in listing the present passage among the kennings in Pindar: if wine was regarded as a 'pregnant' form of water (see above), the metaphor is less bold than it seems to us[10].

3: **δωρήσεται.** Not a future (Me., Fenn., Schad., Bo.)[11], but a subjunctive expressing eventuality. For short-vowel subjunctives in Pindar cf. Gerber on *O.* 1, 7 αὐδάσομεν. The shift to the indicative θῆκε (6) is to be explained from the fact that the poet gradually lost sight of the relative beginning of his sentence (just as in Homeric comparisons; similarly *P.* 4, 266-8). This also appears from 7 καί (cf. *O.* 10, 86 ὥτε ... 91 καί).

Lawall (37-8) wrongly thinks that there is a motif of gift recurring in 50 and 68. The only real implication is that the laudatory poem, too, is a gift. Cf. *P.* 3, 72 and below on 4 γαμβρῷ.

4: **γαμβρῷ.** This may allude to the fact that Diagoras' father Damagetus became the son-in-law of the famous Messenian hero Aristomenes[12]. However, the main function of the comparison is to emphasize the friendly relation between the poet and his patron. Pindar likes to represent his odes as friendly gifts: cf. *P.* 1, 60 φίλιος ὕμνος and my note on *O.* 3, 45 οὔ νιν διώξω. Wil. (360) writes: "Es macht ganz den Eindruck, dass Pindar keine persönlichen Beziehungen zu ihnen [Diagoras and his family] hatte", and concludes (361): "das Herz des Dichters ist unbeteiligt". But the fact that Pindar speaks about Diagoras' victories more elaborately than about his personal qualities does not imply that he did not take a personal interest in him (cf. Young, 77 n. 4).

4: **προπίνων.** Bo.'s translation 'to pledge him' is impossible, for one

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[9] For honey as a medium of inspiration cf. H. Wagenvoort, *Inspiratie door bijen in de droom*, Meded. Kon. Ned. Akad. v. Wet., afd. Lett. N.R. 29:8 (1966), espec. 59 ff., 70, 83 ff., J. H. Waszink, *Biene und Honig als Symbol des Dichters und der Dichtung*, Vortr. Rheinisch-Westf. Akad. G 196 (1974). For wine cf. N. B. Crowther, *Water and Wine as Symbols of Inspiration*, Mnem. IV 32 (1979), 1-11, who is primarily concerned, however, with the Hellenistic period.

[10] For Ar. *Eq.* 1285 cf. J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (New Haven and London 1975), 145. His interpretation of *Nub.* 978 seems to me less convincing: the context suggests the reference to be to freshness, and this is not easily associated with sweat.

[11] Fenn. assumes a gnomic future (cf. K. G. I, 171-2), but the present situation does not have a gnomic character. Bernard (19) maintains that the future emphasizes the disposition from which the action proceeds. But in the present context the action itself is more relevant than the intention. Br. (171 n. 8) maintains that the future "indique bien ici un sens de volonté et d'éventualité", a combination which is clearly impossible. See also K.G. I, 162.

[12] As is suggested by B. Lavagnini, *Da Mimnermo a Callimaco* (Turin 1949), 89. For Damagetus and Aristomenes cf. Wil., 361.

does not first give the cup to a person and then drink his health. 'Drinking his health' (Pu., Gal., Schad., Latt.) is equally impossible, for the giving and the drinking cannot be synchronous[13]. Me. and Farn. adopt the scholiast's explanation, προπίνειν ἐστὶ κυρίως τὸ ἅμα τῷ κράματι τὸ ἀγγεῖον χαρίζεσθαι, but this use seems to be post-classical[14]. The difficulty is solved if it is borne in mind that the present participle can express a preceding action: cf. *P.* 1, 26 παρεόντων, Hom. Α 70 πρό τ' ἐόντα, Γ 425 δίφρον ἑλοῦσα ... κατέθηκε φέρουσα, K.G. I, 200, Schw. II, 297, and my note on Hes. *Th.* 32 ἐόντα, Mnem. IV 25 (1972), 239 (where more literature is mentioned), G. J. de Vries on Long. *Subl.* 9, 13, Mnem. IV 18 (1965), 237.

4: οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε. May be connected with προπίνων, but primarily goes with δωρήσεται: the gift establishes a bond between the two families, just as at Hom. Ζ 220.

4: πάγχρυσον. I doubt whether golden bowls of this kind were so rare that Pindar intended the comparison to carry the suggestion "that the gift of his song is fit only for the great ones of the earth" (Bowra, 25).

4: κτεάνων. Br. (105) argues that this does not mean 'of his possessions' but 'of all possessions'. He compares *O.* 1, 1-2, *O.* 3, 42, fr. 222, but forgets that κορυφάν does not refer to gold in general but to a golden bowl.

5: συμποσίου. Braswell (241 n. 27) rightly observes that the bride was not present at this occasion, but I do not accept his conclusion that the ceremony refers to an ἐγγύησις (similarly Brown, 38): the comparison of the victory ode with a golden bowl would break down if the latter served only to confirm a preliminary agreement.

5: χάριν. 'Des Gelages wegen' (Dorns.) is too weak, 'for goodfellowship's sake' (Fenn.) is too vague, and 'for the sake of the guests' (Gild., Gal.) is certainly wrong. 'Zur Freude des Mahles' (Me.), 'joy of the revel' (Bo.)[15] might be taken as an apposition to the (unexpressed) inner object of δωρήσεται (see below, on 16 ἄποινα), but the double τε seems to show that χάριν depends on τιμάσαις. Rightly Pu. 'l'éclat de la fête'

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[13] Ruck-Matheson evade the problem by omitting δωρήσεται from their translation.

[14] The original meaning of the verb probably was 'to drink the cup of wine before the one who is honoured by the challenge of the first drinker' (cf. Athen. 193 A προεκπιεῖν), and it may be true that "often the cup itself is presented to the one who has taken it to drink from" as is argued by G. H. Macurdy, *The Grammar of Drinking Health*, AJP 53 (1932), 168-71,. esp. 170, but it does not follow that the use of the verb always implies the presenting of the cup as a gift. Xen. *Cyr.* VIII 3, 35 προὔπινε καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο seems to show that at that time προπίνω did not yet have such an implication (as it does have, e.g., in Plut. *Alex.* 39).

[15] Similarly Latt., Gund., 45 ('Zier und Ehrengeschenk des Mahles'), Schad. Ruck-Matheson's translation, 'This banquet elegance to honor his new alliance' is unintelligible.

(similarly Le., Bern., 158): cf. *O.* 13, 19 Διωνύσου χάριτες denoting a feast. The basic meaning of χάρις is, as Rumpel points out, 'quidquid efficit gaudium' (see further the introduction to my commentary on *O.* 14[16]). The χάρις of festivity can be honoured because, just as the χάρις of poetry (11), it is a divine power. It has been objected (Braswell, 236) that the context does not contain an indication of a personification of χάρις, but Pindar and the Greeks generally were inclined to conceive of a human quality as a divine power at the moment at which it became especially prominent: cf. Schmid, 578-9 and nn. 16-17, Fränkel, 549 ff., Bowra, 85.

Braswell proposes to read συμποσίῳ, but the parallels adduced by him for τιμάω τι τινι 'to bestow something as an honour on somebody' are not convincing. At *P.* 4, 270 the verb means 'help' (to shine), just as in the epic gods 'honour' heroes by helping them: cf. Hom. A 454-5 ἐμεῦ πάρος ἔκλυες εὐχομένοιο, / τίμησας μὲν ἐμέ, O 610-2 ἦεν ἀμύντωρ / Ζεύς, ὅς μιν ... τίμα, γ 379 Athena ἐτίμα Odysseus. Cf. also E. *H.F.* 1338-9 θεοὶ δ' ὅταν τιμῶσιν, οὐδὲν δεῖ φίλων· / ἅλις γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὠφελῶν, ὅταν θέλῃ. At S. *Aj.* 688 to 'honour' a wish is to respect it and to comply with it (see Jebb *ad loc.*, who refers to E. *Tro.* 1210-1 νόμους τιμῶσιν). At *Ant.* 514 τιμᾷς takes up 511 σέβειν and is used absolutely, 'to bestow honour'; χάριν is an apposition to the unexpressed inner object of τιμᾷς. I do not believe that the verb here means 'to cultivate', 'to practise' (as is suggested by Müller *ad loc.*), because χάριν does not denote an abstract quality, as in the examples mentioned below, but a special favour. E. *Or.* 828-9 might be explained along the same lines as *Ant.* 514 (I do not believe that the personal object πατέρα has been replaced by an inner object, as Biehl *ad loc.* puts it), but I prefer to translate 'holding in esteem (only) the favour of your father', i.e., acting in such a way that you find favour with your father, or, perhaps more probably, 'cultivating a favourable attitude towards one's father' (cf. *Io* 1045-6 εὐσέβειαν τιμᾶν, *Ba.* 865-6 ἀγνωμοσύναν τιμῶντας, and for the objective meaning of πατρῴαν Antipho 5, 41 χάριτι τῇ ἐμῇ).

P. H. Schrijvers (in a private letter) wonders whether the χάρις of festivity (5), the χάρις of poetry (11), the χάρις paid to the victor (89), and the χάρις of victory (93) are not somehow interrelated within the framework of this poem. They are certainly closely connected as special aspects of one and the same idea, and by the fact that victory, laudatory poem, celebration, and public belong together. This connection, however, is irrelevant to the structure of the poem (see below on 95).

[16] My criticism of M. Rocchi's analysis of χάρις in note 11 to that introduction implies that I reject her explanation of χάριν as being based on "il rapporto che si crea con il dono della coppa di vino" (8).

5: **κᾶδος.** Not the wedding (e.g. Bo.) or the nuptial tie (e.g. Schad.), for the toast and the present suggest that τιμάσαις has a more concrete meaning than 'holding in esteem'. For κῆδος = κηδεστής cf. Hom. λ 542 and A. *Suppl.* 331, and for the use of *abstractum pro concreto* cf. K.G. I, 10-1, and my note on Hes. *Op.* 191. Cf. also the similar use of κήδευμα at S. *O.R.* 85, E. *Or.* 477. In the present context the word may be translated by 'son-in-law' (Pu.).

5: **ἐόν.** Alteration into νέον (Sn. M., Gal., We. *et al.*) is unnecessary: the addition of ἐόν is not otiose but helps us to understand κᾶδος in a concrete sense.

5: **ἐν δέ.** 'Amidst the gathering of the friends' (Farn. *et al.*) is impossible. Braswell (239) plausibly argues that 'and in addition' (cf. *O.* 10, 73, *Dith.* 2, 10), suggested by me in 1972, would be correct if v. 6 added a new fact[17], but that that verse rather expresses the consequence of the preceding lines. He defends the translation 'thereby' (Me., Gild.) by comparing S. *Ant.* 420-1. It may be added that the temporal sense 'at the same occasion' easily passes into a consecutive one: see my note on Hes. *Op.* 283[18].

6: **θῆκε.** 'Made': cf. LSJ B I.

6: **ζαλωτόν.** This is more than 'blessed' (Young, 74, following Fränkel, 490 n. 12). The implication is that the victor is envied, a common motif in Pindar: cf. *O.* 6, 74-6, and Gund., Ind. s.v. 'Neid', R. Stoneman, CQ N.S. 26 (1976), 191-2, J. Péron, REA 78-79 (1976-77), 65-83, Thummer, 80-1, Bern., 22 n. 10. See also my note on *I.* 2, 43, Mnem. IV 35 (1982), 32-3.

6: **ὁμόφρονος.** The present is not "a pledge of an harmonious wedlock" (Gild.), for the epithet is a reminiscence of Hom. ζ 182-4 οὐ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ γε κρεῖσσον καὶ ἄρειον / ἢ ὅθ' ὁμοφρονέοντε νοήμασιν οἶκον ἔχητον / ἀνὴρ ἠδὲ γυνή, and the meaning is purely conventional[19]. I do not see how ὁμόφρονος "chiarifica il senso di ζαλωτός" (Bern., 160 n. 7), for the bridegroom is more likely to be envied for the richness than for the affection of his wife. Braswell (242) thinks that the word refers to the agreement of minds between the father-in-law and the son-in-law (similarly Gal.), but that could hardly be a reason for envy either.

7: **καί.** Fenn.'s translation 'so' is misleading, for the meaning is 'I, too', referring to 1 ὡς and properly introducing the main clause. Similarly *O.* 10, 91, *N.* 2, 3.

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[17] Fenn., who translates ἐν δέ by 'and the while', tries to create such a new fact by taking φίλων παρεόντων to mean 'should friends be present', but it is obvious that at such an occasion always friends were present.

[18] K.G. (I, 535) wrongly assume tmesis: cf. Braswell, 239-40 n. 24.

[19] Latt.'s 'for the bride's consent' (similarly Ruck-Matheson) is obviously wrong.

7: **νέκταρ.** At *I.* 6, 37 the word refers to ordinary wine, but the present context (espec. Μοισᾶν δόσιν) suggests a sacral overtone, and the poet may even allude to the immortalizing power of his victory odes (see below, on 11 ζωθάλμιος)[20]. On the other hand, Defradas (37) goes too far in thinking that "la récitation de l'ode se présente comme la célébration d'un rite".

7: **χυτόν.** Not 'liquid' (LSJ, Gild. *et al.*), for this meaning is post-classical, nor 'limpide' (Pu., Gal.), but 'poured out', which does not mean that "his song travels far, across the sea" (Norwood, 144), but that it has been carefully prepared before it could be 'served'. Cf. *O.* 6, 91 κρατὴρ ἀοιδᾶν, *I.* 5, 25 κιρνάμεν, 6, 2-3 κρατῆρα Μοισαίων μελέων | κίρναμεν. These parallels show that the schol. αὐτόματον καὶ ἄκρατον is completely wrong.

7: **Μοισᾶν.** Pindar uses the plural and the singular without much difference of meaning. Cf. Duchemin, 26-7, who observes: "L'idée seule lui importe".

8: **γλυκύν.** A stereotyped characterization: cf. *O.* 1, 109, *O.* 10, 3, *P.* 10, 56, *N.* 9, 3, *I.* 2, 7. See further Kaimio, 158, and my note on *I.* 2, 3, Mnem. IV 35 (1982), 5, and my remarks in Mnem. IV 36 (1983), 48.

8: **καρπὸν φρενός.** A conventional phrase (cf. *P.* 2, 73-4, *N.* 10, 12) used in a pregnant sense determined by the vegetative context (2 ἀμπέλου, 7 νέκταρ).

Pindar is very self-assured and conscious of his poetic originality: cf. *O.* 1, 116 πρόφαντον σοφίᾳ, *O.* 2, 90 ἐκ μαλθακᾶς φρενός, *N.* 4, 8 φρενὸς ἐξέλῃ βαθείας, *N.* 3, 9 μήτιος ἄπο, *O.* 3, 4 νεοσίγαλον εὑρόντι τρόπον and my note *ad loc.* These passages show that Bundy (I, 3) is fundamentally wrong in writing: "when Pindar speaks pridefully in the first person this is less likely to be the personal Pindar of Thebes than the Pindar privileged to praise the worthiest of men".

For the technical connotation of φρήν see note on *O.* 14, 7 σοφός. For the fact that the poet's creation is at the same time a gift received from the Muses, see my note on *O.* 3, 4 παρέστα.

Barkhuizen (132 and 182 n. 118) suggests that the assonance ὁμόφρονος ... φρενός has a structural significance, but the context of the two words seems to me completely different. S. Darcus Sullivan, TAPA 112 (1982), 215-23, goes still further and argues that the use of φρήν at 6, 8, 47, 91 forms a "strand of thought" running through the ode and linking its parts together, and "thus acts as a unifying factor". She seems to forget,

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[20] Rubin (75-6) develops this point of view into such fantasies as the suggestion that Pindar's odes may be compared to the living sculptures of the Heliadae and even to the fertilizing rain sent by Zeus.

however, that the mere repetition of a common word such as φρήν does not constitute a link. She describes the various aspects of the word in its contexts and concludes (223): "The strand of thought thus shows that *phrenes* strongly influence human behaviour". But this is presupposed by Pindar, not shown by the poem.

9: ἱλάσκομαι. Not 'pay homage to' (Gild., Dorns., Pu., Conw.; similarly Latt. 'offer it up to') but 'try to win their favour' (Farn.)[21]. The object is not the gods (Fränkel, 490)[22] but the victors: cf. *O.* 10, 12 ἐς χάριν ('gratitude'), *P.* 1, 75-6 ἀρέομαι ... Ἀθηναίων χάριν. Lawall (36) thinks that the use of ἱλάσκομαι "seems to elevate the victors to the ranks of heroes or even gods", but Brown (44 n. 30) rightly observes that there is no parallel for this idea in Pindar. The verb can have a human being as its object without any hint at deification: cf. Hdt. VII 112, 3[23]. Brown (*loc. cit.*), who adopts Fränkel's interpretation, argues that my view "attributes to the poet rather selfish motives" and that this "is damaging to the tone of the passage". It may be answered that (1) Pindar is never shy of expressing his self-interest, (2) this self-interest coincides with the *topos* of the friendship between poet and victor (see above, on 4 γαμβρῷ), and (3) the gratitude of the victor indirectly reflects another *topos*, the value of the ode.

For the conative force of the present (wrongly considered by Gal. to be incompatible with the poet's self-confidence) cf. K. G. I, 140, Schw. II, 258-9.

10: νικώντεσσιν. We.'s translation 'und mach mir geneigt Olympia- und Pythosieger' (similarly Le., Bern., 158) is misleading because the phrase is a specification of ἀεθλοφόροις appended at the end of the sentence: see above, on 1 φιάλαν.

10: δέ. Motivates the victor's gratitude implied in ἱλάσκομαι.

10: ὄλβιος, ὅν. A traditional formula of beatification: cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig 1923), 100 n. 1, Young, 74 n. 6. The term ὄλβιος

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[21] Schad.'s 'schaffe Eintracht' is unintelligible.

[22] Similarly *W.u.F.*, 359, Slater, Nis. ('offer libations for Olympian and Pythian victors'), Bern., 192 (who calls Pindar "l'officiante che compie un atto rituale"). D. Korzeniewski, Gymn. 75 (1968), 465, and Br. (171-2 n. 17) refer to Hes. *Op.* 338 for the ellipse of θεούς, but these are mentioned two lines before. Br. further compares *O.* 12, 1 and *O.* 14, 5, but there the gods in question are mentioned in the same sentence. He finally observes that Pindar's victory odes "comportent ordinairement une invocation à la divinité", but from a grammatical point of view this is a worthless argument. Consequently, his conclusion (165) that the bowl may have been used to offer a libation to Zeus is a mere speculation.

[23] Vian, who thinks the phrase to imply that the victor was "plus ou moins divinisé du fait de ses victoires", refers to Legrand's note on Hdt. VIII 112, 3, "ils apaisèrent Thémistocle comme on apaise et se concilie un dieu", but this is an arbitrary interpretation, for ἵλαος is equally said of men and gods.

usually implies the ideas of abundance and permanent property: cf. C. de Heer, Μάκαρ, εὐδαίμων, ὄλβιος, εὐτυχής (Amsterdam 1968), 53-4[24].

10: κατέχωντι. Cf. *P.* 1, 96 ἐχθρὰ Φάλαριν κατέχει παντᾷ φάτις, Hom. P 143 σε κλέος ἔχει, Hdt. VII 3, 2 ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει[25]. M. van der Valk (in a private letter) defends the reading κατέχοντι (adopted by editors ignorant of the papyrus reading) by the assumption that Pindar especially has Diagoras in mind. But the poet is still speaking in general terms, and it is not before 13 (καί νυν) that he turns to the special case.

11: ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλον. For this *topos* cf. Hom. δ 236, Slater s.v. ἄλλοτε, Becker, 93 and 184, J. Krause, *Ἄλλοτε ἄλλος. Untersuchungen zum Motiv des Schicksalswechsels in der griechischen Dichtung bis Euripides* (Munich 1976), espec. 91-138. Young (75) rightly points out that the idea of vicissitude implies the precious nature of the victory (see also Bundy I, 7). The fact that now this man, now another is elected by the gods to become a victor is quite another kind of vicissitude than the alternation of good fortune and bad fortune mentioned at the end of the poem. This difference has been overlooked by Smith (174-5), who assumes a ring-composition (although he admits that 11 is "rather optimistic" and 94-5 "somewhat ominous"). This point is also neglected by Bundy I, 7, who claims that "the most characteristic use of vicissitude as foil is to highlight victorious achievements or merit in general". *O.* 12, 5 ff. shows that the alternation of good and bad fortune serves to emphasize the weakness of human enterprises. Similarly *P.* 8, 88 ff., etc.

Since the φᾶμαι ἀγαθαί depend on the composition of a laudatory poem, δέ has explanatory (motivating) force[26].

11: ἐποπτεύει. Usually 'keep a watchful eye on', just as ἐφοράω, ἐπιδέρκομαι, ἐπισκοπέω, but here 'look with favour at', 'watch over': similarly, at A. *Cho.* 1 ἐποπτεύων means 'watching over' rather than 'watching at'. Cf. also ἐποπτήρ, ἐπόπτης, and ἐπίσκοπος used of tutelary gods, and the pregnant use of ὁράω at *O.* 14, 16 and 22, *I.* 2, 18, and δέρκομαι at *P.* 3, 85. See further Headlam on Herod. 4, 73.

11: Χάρις. The divine power which makes poetry delightful: cf. Gund., ch. II, and my remarks in Mnem. IV 36 (1983), 29 and 48[27]. It seems strange that the poet, whose work was commissioned by the victor, represents his activity as a divine power acting of its own choice. This

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[24] The word does not always imply divine favour, as is assumed by Thummer, *Religiosität*, 68 and n. 4.

[25] These parallels show that the meaning of κατέχεσθαι is neutral, and that Th. Hoey, HSCP 70 (1965), 254, is wrong in thinking that "one would expect that κατέχομαι would be used of *ill* report, as it is in *P.* 1. 96".

[26] Gal. wrongly maintains that the causal relation is logical, not grammatical.

[27] See also Bern., 161 and n. 8.

should not be explained, however, by the assumption that Χάρις comprises both the joy of poetry and that of victory (Lawall, 36, Krause, *op. cit.*, 118), for it is clearly defined by φόρμιγγι and αὐλῶν. It is based on a combination of Pindar's self-confidence and his religiosity: he considers his poetic activity to be so exclusive (cf. *O.* 9, 27 ἐξαίρετον Χαρίτων νέμομαι κᾶπον) that it must be determined by a divine power[28]. See also my note on *O.* 3, 7 θεόδματον.

11: ζωθάλμιος. 'Causing life to bloom', i.e., keeping the memory of an achievement and of its author alive: cf. *O.* 10, 91-6, *N.* 6, 30, *N.* 7, 12, *N.* 8, 40, *I.* 3-4, 58-9, Duchemin, 42-3, 248-9, 283-4[29].

Pindar likes to use adjectives in a causative sense: cf. e.g. *O.* 10, 4 ὀρθᾷ χερί ('rectifying'), fr. 30, 6 ἀλαθέας Ὥρας ('bringing to light'). See further my notes on *O.* 14, 16 ἐρασίμολπε and 21 κλυτάν, and *I.* 2, 2 κλυτᾷ, 19 κλειναῖς, 28 ἀθανάτοις, Mnem. IV 35 (1982), 3, 19, 23.

11: ἀδυμελεῖ. Kaimio (158) suggests that this, just as ἀδυεπής and ἀδύλογος, "probably refers solely to the sweetness of the lyre's tones, not to the hymn accompanied by the music of the lyre, in spite of the fact that the latter part of the compounds (-μελής, -επής, -λογος) refers to singing or speaking and that the compounds generally refer to song". It seems to be more correct to say that in Pindar's view the music of his odes is so closely bound up with the text that it naturally partakes of the latter's qualities. For the prominence of sweetness in Pindar's conception of poetry see above, on 8 γλυκύν.

12: θάμα. So rightly Gild., Farn. (= ἅμα). Similarly *N.* 2, 9 θάμα μὲν ... τε. This use seems to have originated from such passages as *P.* 12, 25 λεπτοῦ διανισόμενον χαλκοῦ θ' ἅμα (so rightly Pu., Tur.) καὶ δονάκων and *I.* 2, 11 κτεάνων θ' ἅμα λειφθεὶς καὶ φίλων. It would be inconsistent with Pindar's self-confidence to say that his poetry 'often' (i.e. not always) gives permanence to the victor's renown[30]. Schad.'s translation suggests

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[28] There is no self-irony in this view, as is assumed by Becker, 93 n. 107: "der Dichter spielt das Schicksal; mit überlegener Ironie wird der feste Gang der Dichtung zum scheinbar regellosen Zickzack". The last remark is equally wrong: there is no zigzag in the course of poetry itself, but only in the way in which it addresses itself to one person rather than to another.

[29] Pindar could base himself on the fact that the Charites originally were goddesses of fertility (Paus. IX 35, 2, Duchemin, 73 ff., W. Fauth in *KP* I, 1135). Duchemion (77-8) takes ζωθάλμιος to refer to the creative power of their inspiration (cf. fr. 70a, 14 ἀέξετ' ἔτι, Μοῖσαι, θάλος ἀοιδᾶν), but the context shows that Charis is considered here in respect of her influence on the victor, not on the poet. Young (101) wrongly extends the scope of the vegetative point of view: "The admiration, festivities, and honor resulting from the victory (closely associated with χάριτες) are essentially like blossoms or shoots in Diagoras' life" ... "the poet also, like the father in the simile, lives on in his 'children' (ἔκγονα, as Plato calls the poems)".

[30] Bury (*Isthmian Odes*, 156) argues that τε is equivalent to θαμὰ δέ, but *O.* 3, 8, *O.* 10, 94, *N.* 9, 8 seem to show that Pindar used a combination of lyre and flute. In *N.* 2, 9

that he takes the phrase 'often with the help of musical instruments' as a qualification of Charis' favourable look, but in that case we should expect 'often with the help of poetry'.

12: φόρμιγγι. See note on *O.* 3, 8 φόρμιγγα.

12: παμφώνοισι. Fenn. in his first edition argued (on the basis of his interpretation of *O.* 3, 8) that the word means " 'playing all the melody', while the cithern only played some passages or did not follow the voice so closely", but *P.* 3, 17 παμφώνων ἰαχὰν ὑμεναίων seems to show that the use is purely ornamental[31]. The meaning is 'with all kinds of sound' rather than 'full voiced' (Slater): cf. Kaimio, 148-9, and my note on *O.* 3, 8 ποικιλόγαρυν. For πᾶς equivalent to παντοῖος cf. Hom. E 11 μάχης εὖ εἰδότε πάσης, ν 292 ἐν πάντεσσι δόλοισι, and my notes on Semon. 7, 78, Mnem. IV 21 (1968), 149, A. *Pr.* 111, in *Miscellanea ... Kamerbeek*, 454, and Hes. *Op.* 116. Other examples in Pindar are *O.* 1, 116, *O.* 7, 51, *O.* 10, 23 and 82, *N.* 4, 83.

12: τε. For μὲν ... τε see my note on *O.* 3, 6.

12: ἐν. Goes both with φόρμιγγι and ἔντεσιν (Fenn.): for prepositions used *apo koinou* cf. *O.* 8, 47 καὶ Ἀμαζόνας εὐίππους καὶ ἐς Ἴστρον ἐλαύνων, *I.* 1, 29 ῥεέθροισί τε Δίρκας ἔφανεν καὶ παρ' Εὐρώτᾳ, Gild. on *O.* 9, 94, K.G. I, 550, Bruhn, § 171 VI, and my notes on Thuc. VI 9, 2, Mnem. IV 18 (1965), 304, and Semon. 7, 95, Mnem. IV 21 (1968), 152. The meaning is 'to the accompaniment of' (properly 'in the presence of'): cf. *O.* 5, 19, *N.* 3, 79, *I.* 5, 27[32].

12: αὐλῶν. A qualitative genitive: cf. K.G. I, 264. For the combination of φόρμιγξ and αὐλός see my note on *O.* 3, 8 αὐλῶν.

13: καί νυν. Not 'auch jetzt' (Schad.) but 'and so now': see note on *O.* 3, 34.

13: ὑπό. 'To the accompaniment of' (cf. *O.* 4, 2, LSJ A II 5). Young (75 n. 3) wrongly concludes: "The lyre and the flute are objects with power on which the poet senses his own dependence".

13: σὺν Διαγόρᾳ. Smith (175) concludes from this phrase that "the subject of the poem is clearly Rhodes, not Diagoras". But it is methodically wrong to assume that a Pindaric ode can have only one subject.

13: κατέβαν. Cf. *P.* 4, 22 πρῴραθεν καταβαίς, *P.* 3, 73 κατέβαν (for arriving at Sicily). Wil. (363) concludes from 8 πέμπων that Pindar did not go himself to Rhodes, but Farn. rightly remarks that in 8 "he is

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it would be too confident a prophecy to say that Timodemus is destined to win many victories in the Isthmian games and many victories in the Pythian games.

[31] Ruck-Matheson's 'the counterpoint of the flutes' is a ridiculous anachronism.

[32] Latt.'s 'bestowing favor frequently to the melodious lyre' is obviously wrong.

describing his profession in general'' (cf. *N.* 3, 77, fr. 124, 2). On the other hand, it cannot be said that ''the description of Rhodes as πέλας ἐμβόλῳ 'Ασίας εὐρυχόρου (18-9) suggests an eye-witness'' (Farn.). In many cases the arrival of the poet seems to be a metaphor for the completion of his composition: cf. e.g. *O.* 1, 111, *N.* 4, 74, *I.* 5, 21, *I.* 6, 57[33]. Accordingly, the question of the poet's presence must remain undecided.

The use of the aorist is explained by P. Von der Mühll, MH 21 (1964), 55 n. 15 = *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften* (Basel 1975), 223 n. 53, by referring to *Rigveda* 'ástōṣi' 'I praise' (mentioned by Schw. II, 282) and suggesting that ''im Preislied Pindars eine alte indogermanische Tradition fortlebe''. But it is much simpler to assume that the aorist refers to the time before the ode was performed[34].

13-9. For the shift of attention from the victor to his native country cf. Bundy I, 20-1.

13: ποντίαν. Rightly connected with παῖδα (according to the scholia the father was Poseidon) by Gild., who compares *O.* 2, 13 ὦ Κρόνιε παῖ 'Ρέας[35]. Accordingly, no comma should be put after ὑμνέων.

14: 'Αφροδίτας. In the traditional myth the mother was Amphitrite or Halia (see below, on 53). Wil. (364) plausibly concludes that the present genealogy was invented by Pindar to emphasize the beauty of Rhodes. Similarly 'Αλάθεια is made the daughter of Zeus (*O.* 10, 4) and 'Αγγελία the daughter of Hermes (*O.* 8, 82). See also below on 53 ἄδολος.

14: τε. For single τε adding a second relationship cf. Friis Johansen-Whittle on A. *Suppl.* 42.

14: νύμφαν. Br. (24) observes (1) that νύμφαν means 'legal wife', (2) that Rhodos was an ἐπίκληρος, and concludes that ''la décision de Zeus, suivie du serment de Lachésis, est analogue à l'arrêt d'un tribunal, lequel, comme on l'a vu, tient lieu de cérémonie de mariage''. But (1) the predominant connotation of νύμφη is 'young' rather than 'legal' (cf. LSJ I), and (2) the oath to be sworn by Lachesis refers to the island, not to the nymph.

15: εὐθυμάχαν. Not 'fighting fairly' (LSJ, Fenn., We., Slater, Ruck-Matheson) but 'a fighter who goes straight at his adversary' (Farn., Pu. *et al.*). Cf. Hom. P 168 ἰθὺς μαχέσασθαι, Λ 95 ἰθὺς μεμαῶτα. Similarly Hdt. IV 102, 1 and 120, 1 ἰθυμαχίη (LSJ wrongly 'fair fight').

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[33] This explanation seems to me preferable to the one proposed by me in 1972, viz. that the poet identifies himself with the chorus (cf. Becker, 81-2, Bowra, 360-1, Thummer on *I.* 2, 34): this might apply to *O.* 1, 111, but not to those cases in which the ode is performed in the native town of the victor. See also Bundy I, 27, Bern., 161 n. 9.

[34] This is not necessarily the time ''when his chorus is arriving at the place where they are to sing'', as is suggested by W. J. Slater, CQ N.S. 19 (1969), 88.

[35] It is misleading to say that ''ποντίαν se refiere a la isla, νύμφαν a la divinidad'' (Gal.).

15: πελώριον ἄνδρα. Perhaps a reminiscence of Hom. ι 187 ἀνὴρ ... πελώριος (cf. Bowra, 215). Von der Mühll, *Ausgew. kl. Schriften*, 439, thinks that Pindar uses the adjective "in jenem abgeschwächten Sinn als emphatischen Ausdruck für 'gross' ". He refers to Wil., 361 n. 1, who concluded from the fact that Diagoras had a stature of 1.96 m. (schol.): "übrigens sind das noch keine zwei Meter, also gar nichts Riesenhaftes". But the Greeks were a comparatively small race (see my remarks in Mnem. IV 2, 1949, 296-7), so that the 'gigantic' stature of Diagoras probably carries the epic connotation of δεινός.

15: στεφανωσάμενον. 'Had himself crowned': similarly 81, *O.* 12, 17, *N.* 6, 21, *N.* 11, 28, *I.* 2, 16. Cf. διδάσκομαι 'to have oneself instructed', and K.G. I, 113, Schw. II, 232[36], and my notes on Men. *Epitr.* 44 and 205, Mnem. IV 27 (1974), 20 and 26.

16: ἄποινα. Apposition to the unexpressed internal object, not of στεφανωσάμενον (Pu., Bo., and my commentary of 1972), but of αἰνέσω, as is pointed out by Vian: for the ode as a recompense of the victory cf. *P.* 1, 59, *P.* 2, 14, *N.* 7, 16, *I.* 3, 7, *I.* 8, 4. For the construction cf. K.G. I, 284-5, Schw. II, 74 and 76, Bruhn § 11, Wilamowitz on E. *H.F.* 59, Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 757, and my notes on A. *Pr.* 903, in *Miscellanea ... Kamerbeek*, 468, and E. *Ba.* 9, Mnem. IV 33 (1980), 3.

17: ἀδόντα. For the reading ἁδόντα (Fenn., Gild.) see my note on *O.* 3, 1 ἁδεῖν.

17: Δίκᾳ. In 1972 I suggested that Damagetus was a *prytanis*, but D. M. Schenkeveld (in a private letter) points out that the existence of *prytaneis* in Rhodes as early as 464 is doubtful (cf. *RE* Suppl. V, 763). On the other hand, the emphatic character of the phrase seems to imply that Damagetus was a magistrate[37].

For δίκη in Pindar cf. Thummer, *Religiosität*, 113-6. For deified abstractions cf. Dorns., *P.S.*, 50 ff., Thummer, *Religiosität*, 27-31, Duchemin, 125 ff. It is typical of Pindar's religiosity to say, not 'he liked justice', but 'Justice liked him', although the religiosity borders on mannerism: cf. *I.* 3, 33 Ἄρει ἅδον (but *O.* 10, 14 μέλει τέ σφισι Καλλιόπα καὶ χάλκεος Ἄρης), and below on 53 κέλευθοι, 83 ἔγνω.

18: εὐρυχόρου. Not 'broad for dancing' (Slater; cf. Ruck-Matheson: 'vast dancing Asia's promontory') but 'spacious': Sparta is called

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[36] Schw. I, 757 n. 1, assumes a passive sense in the present passage, but I fail to see why " 'sich bekränzen (lassen)' sachlich nicht passt".

[37] Thummer (*Religiosität*, 114) suggests that the phrase may be "eine Anspielung auf eine schon unter Beweis gestellte und von Pindar sich gegenüber erwartete Gastfreundschaft". It is true that at *O.* 2, 6 Theron is called ὄπι δίκαιον ξένων (as was pointed out to me by M. van der Valk), but I doubt whether the single word δίκη suffices to allude to ξενία.

εὐρύχορος (Hom. ν 414) as well as εὐρύς (λ 460). I doubt whether the word ever meant 'with broad dancing-places'[38]. Similarly καλλίχορος (Hom. λ 581 of Panopeus, Bacch. 10, 32 of Olympia). It is unnecessary to assume that χορός originally meant 'open space' (Fenn.): the form of the adjective is obviously due to metrical compulsion. For εὐρυ- 'widely extending' see my note on E. *Ba.* 87, Mnem. IV 34 (1981), 303.

18: τρίπολιν. Lindus, Ialysus, Camirus (Hom. B 655).

18: πέλας. This need not imply that "Pindar sees Rhodes as on guard against Persia" (Bowra, 146).

19: ἐμβόλῳ. 'Tongue of land', 'cape' (*i.e.* Κυνὸς σῆμα). The original meaning is not 'ship's beak' (Bo., Stein on Hdt. IV 53, 6) but 'anything pointed so as to be easily thrust in' (LSJ).

For πέλας with dative see note on *O.* 3, 31 πνοιαῖς, and Friis Johansen-Whittle on A. *Suppl.* 208.

19: 'Αργείᾳ. Gerber on *O.* 1, 23 Συρακόσιον observes that Pindar is fond of using adjectives as equivalent to the genitive of a substantive. Cf. also K.G. I, 261-2, Schw. II, 177-8, and my note on A. *Suppl.* 8 αὐτογενῆ, Mnem. IV 38 (1985), 283.

The phrase alludes to the fact that Rhodes was colonized by Tlepolemus and his followers from Tiryns (cf. 29). Bowra (288) points out "the apparent insouciance with which he [Pindar] sometimes introduces a myth ... He seems amost to slide into it through some superficial association of words or ideas". See also Barkhuizen, *Patterns*, 25-6, and note on *O.* 3, 13 τάν.

19: αἰχμᾷ. For αἰχματαῖς (also E. *Heracl.* 276). Similarly λόγχη (E. *Phoen.* 442), ἀσπίς (Hdt. V 30, Xen. *An.* I 7, 10). Cf. K.G. I, 12-3, Schw. II, 42.

20: ἐθελήσω. The will itself is actual at the present moment, but the speaker's mind is dominated by the thought that the object of his will lies in the future. Cf. *O.* 6, 21, *O.* 8, 57, *O.* 11, 16, Hom. A 181 ἀπειλήσω δέ τοι ὧδε, K.G. I, 172-3, Schw. II, 292[39], Bruhn, § 106[40].

20:τοῖσιν. Not to be connected with ἐξ ἀρχᾶς ἀπὸ Τλαπολέμου (Fenn., Gild., Farn.), nor simply prospective (Me. *et al.*), but first referring to

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[38] Even in Homer, the context never suggests a connection of εὐρύχορος with dancing, *pace* D. Dickman Boedeker, *Aphrodite's Entry into Greek Epic* (Leiden 1974), 52-3.

[39] His explanation, "So steht das Futurum auch für die unmittelbarste Zukunft", does not seem to me correct. He gives more examples at p. 294 and another explanation at p. 293: "indem die futurische Bedeutung der formell nicht futurischen Verbindungen auch zu einem formellen Ausdruck drängt", which is too vague. See further S. L. Radt, in *Σχόλια: Studia ... D. Holwerda* (Groningen 1985), 109-12.

[40] For the conventional use of the future see also Bundy I, 21-2. For ἐθέλω equivalent to a future cf. Radt, 74-5.

Diagoras and his father, and in the course of the sentence widening and including the whole family of the Eratidae (Illig, 79).

20: ἐξ ἀρχᾶς. Explained by ἀπὸ Τλαπολέμου[41]. For Pindar's conception of myth as belonging to the real past cf. C. G. Starr, *Essays on Ancient History* (Leiden 1979), 393 ff., espec. 394 on the past as forming the background of the present, and 399 on the function of myth "to endow a contemporary event with a higher reality"[42].

21: ξυνόν. The ode concerns the victor, his family, and his native town. Cf. *O.* 10, 11 κοινὸν λόγον, *I.* 1, 46 ξυνὸν καλόν, *I.* 6, 65 ξυνὸν ἄστει κόσμον. The poet is ἴδιος ἐν κοινῷ σταλείς (*O.* 13, 49; Pu.: 'un simple particulier, mais chargé d'une mission publique'). See further Gund., 32-3, Bern., 35[43].

Becker (80-1) rightly criticizes Dorns.'s explanation (P.S., 64: "der Chordichter, der herumreist als Fahrender"), but wrongly concludes: "Vor der grossen Zahl der betrachteten Stellen, in denen das Lied selbst als ein Gang gesehen ist, erweist sich diese Botenvorstellung als ein Spiel mit der Wirklichkeit, indem die abstrakte 'Fahrt des Liedes' durch das Hereinziehen der scheinbaren Reise des Dichters erst recht gerundet und belebt wird". Not every traveller is a messenger. Pindar feels himself a messenger. Not in his quality of being a (fictitious) traveller but in performing a public task (*O.* 13, 49 quoted above).

We should not connect ξυνόν with τοῖσιν (Fenn., Pu., van Groningen, 354 n. 2) or with γέννᾳ (We., Bo.), for the above parallels show that the word has a wider relevance.

21: ἀγγέλλων. Not pleonastic (Me.), for the meaning is 'making a public announcement'. Cf. *P.* 2, 4, *P.* 9, 2, *N.* 4, 74, *N.* 6, 57.

21: διορθῶσαι. Not 'tell my tale aright' (LSJ and most editors) or 'exalt' (Young, 78), for διορθόω and διόρθωσις always imply the idea of correction[44]. This does not refer to 24 Ἀστυδαμείας instead of Ἀστυόχεια

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[41] Ruck-Matheson's 'from that first Tlepolemos' is absurd.

[42] Although it is misleading to speak of an 'archetype', as is done by Rivier (below, n. 58), 276 (quoted with approval by Bern., 187).

[43] Br. (140) argues that Pindar addresses himself to the citizens of Ialysos "dans la mesure où les Eratides jouaient un rôle dominant à Ialysos", and concludes that the poet "s'oppose à toute une tradition qui, depuis le VI° siècle au moins, faisait du *logos* l'instrument des débats publics". He refers to 93-4, which he explains as follows: "signaler que 'la cité elle-même est en fête' permet de mettre en valeur l'influence de Diagoras et de son *génos*, de faire allusion au rôle politique dominant qu'ils jouent à Ialysos". This is an arbitrary interpretation: Pindar abstains from alluding to the political position of the Eratidae (see below, on 95 αὖραι), and the public festivity belongs to the *topos* of praising the victor's native country (see below, on 94 πόλις).

[44] The translation 'deuten' (Illig, 17 and n. 4) is too weak. See further Gund., 128 n. 230, van Groningen, 355, Norwood, 139, who is wrong, however, in translating ξυνὸν λόγον by 'the current story'. H. Maehler, Gnom. 42 (1970), 445, thinks that the interpretation proposed by Young (who compares Pindar's use of ὀρθόω) is corroborated by the beginning of *O.* 6 and of fr. 194, but the element δι- cannot be ignored.

(Hom. B 658), for "ce ne sont guère que des variantes d'un même nom" (Pu.), but to the following points:

(1) In Homer's version of the story (B 665-6) Tlepolemus takes to flight before the family of Licymnius, but Pindar makes him consult the oracle of Apollo (31), i.e., emphasizes the guidance of the gods (Young, 83).

(2) In the traditional story the murder was unintentional (schol. and Apollod. II 8, 2; Homer does not mention a motive), but Pindar adds χολωθείς emphatically at the end of the sentence (30). I do not believe that he "is alluding to some fuller version than Homer's, probably to Hesiod's" (Farn.)[45], but that he invented the motive in order to strengthen the contrast with the happy issue of the story.

(3) In the original version of the story Rhodes was colonized not by Tlepolemus himself but by the third generation after him.

(4) Pindarus divides the history of Rhodes into three episodes, each of which starts with some misfortune but has a good ending (van Groningen, 355)[46].

(5) Accordingly, he explains the traditional character of the ἱερὰ ἄπυρα (48) offered to Athena Lindia (schol. 86a and 89a; cf. Br., 55 n.2) from forgetfulness (45) of the first rulers of the island[47].

(6) For the same purpose, Pindar adds the original absence of Helios: see below, on 55 ῥήσιες.

(7) Pindar silently replaces the Telchines by the Heliadae: see below, on 52 κέλευθοι and 53 καὶ σοφία τελέθει.

The general purpose of all these modifications is to show that Rhodes is in high favour with the gods (cf. Bern., 171). Thus the myth performs its main and most fundamental function, viz. to add lustre to the present situation by putting it under the light of a great and sacred past[48].

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[45] J. M. Bremer, *Hamartia* (Amsterdam 1969), 117 n. 9, wrongly suggests that Apollod. II 8, 2 "may be a later version of the story". Bowra (301) writes that "Pindar faces the facts" and suggests that there was a family feud, but we do not know anything about this. Rightly Puech: "les scholies, qui parlent 'd'une rivalité d'honneur et de pouvoir', ne faisaient sans doute qu'une induction, tirée de ce texte même".

[46] Defradas (43-4) suggests that διορθῶσαι also refers to the tradition that the Athenians and the Rhodians vied for Athena's patronage (cf. 42 πρῶτοι). However, as Farn. (I, 39-40) points out, Pindar could not contest the fact that the goddess made Athens her principal city and abode, and he therefore simply suppressed it (see below, on 48 ἀνέβαν). The fact that the forgetfulness of the Rhodians "n'a pas eu de conséquences mauvaises" can hardly be regarded as a correction.

[47] Cf. also Young, 79-81, who rightly criticizes some details in this interpretation, but wrongly rejects the scheme itself.

[48] Cf. H. Fränkel, Gnomon 3 (1927), 570: "um es im Abglanz legendärer Grösse und Hoheit aufleuchten zu lassen, ihm gleichen Rang und gleiche Würde zu verleihen", where 'Abglanz' is correct, but 'gleich' goes too far. Br. considers the myth to reflect the political tensions existing in Rhodes, but this view leads to laborious interpretations too

23: Διός. Father of Heracles, who was the father of Tlepolemus.

23: εὔχονται. For the ellipse of εἶναι cf. *P.* 4, 97, Hom. ξ 199, E.fr. 696, 3, LSJ III 1, Friis Johansen-Whittle on A. *Suppl.* 16-7.

23: Ἀμυντορίδαι. Amyntor, king of Thessaly, was father of Astydameia (mother of Tlepolemus).

24: Ἀστυδαμείας. Not an apposition to ματρόθεν (Fenn.)[49], but depending on εὔχονται.

24-6. Vian maintains that "les articulations gnomiques des vers 24-26 (et 30-31) et 43-47 préparent clairement la conclusion du poème". But the alternation of good fortune and bad fortune (94-5) is such a dominant idea in Pindar's thought (in addition to *P.* 2, 51-2 mentioned in my note on 95 αὖραι cf. *O.* 2, 33-4, *P.* 3, 104-6, *I.* 3, 23-4, and see above, on 11 ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλον) that it need not be 'prepared'. Besides, the leading idea of the myth is not the alternation of good and bad fortune but a bad beginning turned into a permanent good (26 ἐν τελευτᾷ φέρτατον)[50].

24-5: ἀμφὶ ... κρέμανται. Strohm (22-3) rightly points out that Pindar likes to represent human sentiments and achievements as founded in the objective world. It is misleading to conclude, however, that "l'homme ne maîtrise pas ses propres actions" and to say that "l'homme n'est rien, il doit s'en remettre à la divinité" (Br., 136)[51]: it is true that Pindar minimizes man's responsibility in order to maximize divine favour, but an ἀμπλακία is a *human* failure which implies human guilt: cf. *P.* 2, 28-30, where the word is associated with ὕβρις. See further note on *O.* 3, 4 παρέστα. For the early Greek conception of human responsibility cf. also my note on Hes. *Op.* 16.

24: ἀμπλακίαι. This does not refer to "human inability to foresee outcomes" (Young, 81), for the word always has a moral sense, here taken up by φρενῶν ταραχαί (30), which Young admits to refer to Tlepolemus (while rightly rejecting the assumption that the phrase is a veiled excuse

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sophisticated to occur to an audience, even to an audience familiar with the situation (as is rightly pointed out by Bern., 86). For instance, the suggestion (176) that "si Hélios refuse l'*anadasmos*, c'est parce que la 'réforme agraire', pour utiliser le vocabulaire contemporain, était honnie par les grands propriétaires fonciers" does not have any foundation in the Greek text, which is intelligible without comment.

[49] Similarly Ruck-Matheson 'these Amyntorids, whose mother was Astydameia'.

[50] Barkhuizen (*Patterns*, 34), adopting a suggestion put forward by Gild. (183-4), writes that "lines 94-95 do not necessarily imply a change from good to bad, but merely change of some kind". However, δέ at 94 obviously has adversative force and the poet reminds the victor of the possibility of a change for the worse.

[51] His further conclusion (142), "c'est donc parce que Pindare est au service des aristocrates conservateurs, parce qu'il vise à produire un discours susceptible de maintenir la domination des grands *génè* qu'il est amené à avancer ces théories sur le néant de l'homme", is quite absurd.

for Tlepolemus' deed). Smith (197) refers to *P.* 3, 13 ἀμπλακίαισι φρενῶν and to Emp. B 115, 3, where the word, just as in the present passage, refers to murder.

Norwood (142) wrongly follows Boeckh in regarding the sentence as "a warning to the Rhodians against political folly". It is equally wrong to assume that Diagoras had killed an opponent in the boxing match (schol.)[52]. See also below on 77 λύτρον.

25: κρέμανται. Gild. takes the verb to allude to lures or nets, but these can hardly be said to 'hang around' their victims. The reference is more likely to be to dark clouds obscuring the steerman's vision (cf. 45 νέφος and Young, 81-2, 85). Smith (176) objects that the verb without any further qualification cannot refer to clouds. But Becker (95) rightly compares *I.* 8, 14-5 δόλιος γὰρ αἰὼν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι κρέμαται,/ἑλίσσων βίου πόρον, where the nautical metaphor is more explicit[53]. The same metaphor seems to underly *O.* 6, 74-5 μῶμος ἄλλων κρέμαται φθονεόντων/τοῖς and *I.* 2, 43 φθονεραὶ θνατῶν φρένας ἀμφικρέμανται ἐλπίδες, for μῶμος and φθόνος are dark and darkening powers (*N.* 4, 40, *N.* 7, 61, Hes. *Th.* 214).

25: τοῦτο. Subject of the sentence. Cf. ἄξιος θαυμάσαι, ῥᾴδιος μαθεῖν, etc. (K.G. II, 15-6). Similarly 26 ὅ τι, *O.* 8, 23-5, *O.* 13, 13, etc.

26: καί. For the transposition of copulative καί, "which gives special emphasis to the second member" (Gild.), cf. Denn., 325-6[54].

29: θαλάμων. 'Woman's apartment' (LSJ I 1). If Midea was Licymnius' mother, she was no longer alive, for Licymnius was Tlepolemus' great-uncle, but Licymnius was still living in her house because she had been a concubine of Electryon (cf. 27 νόθον), so that her son did not succeed his father on the throne. Farn. adopts the second interpretation mentioned by the schol., 'having come from the habitations of Midea' (a town in Argos mentioned at *O.* 10, 66)[55], but one expects θαλάμων to refer to a special habitation. In my commentary of 1972 I suggested that the word means Licymnius' house (cf. *P.* 4, 160 and LSJ I 3) and that

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[52] Fenn. is "inclined to suggest that a transgression may have occurred in connexion with the Pythian victory", but admits that "it is not necessary to assume that there are special allusions to the past life of Diagoras". Gal. wrongly thinks that 27 καί "refuerza la suposicion ... de alguna falta cometida por Diagoras".

[53] Péron (194) wrongly takes the metaphor to be a mere reminiscence of the stone hung over the head of Tantalus: this does not explain ἀμφι-.

[54] Pindar is the only early author who uses this transposition, for Denn. rightly argues that τοῖσδε goes with ἔγνωκα: see further my note in *Miscellanea ... Kamerbeek*, 452. Schenkeveld (private letter) points out that we should distinguish transposition of adverbial καί (*O.* 2, 28, *P.* 4, 186, *N.* 7, 31) and of copulative καί (*O.* 7, 26, *P.* 10, 58), and that the latter also occurs at Euphorion fr. 51, 7.

[55] Similarly H. Fränkel, GGA 1922, 196 n. 5. In his translation Farn. seems to combine both views: 'having come from his mother's home in Midea'.

Μιδέας is a geographical partitive genitive, but D. M. Schenkeveld (private letter) pointed out that such a genitive is used of countries, not of towns (cf. K.G. I, 338).

30: τᾶσδε. P. Maas' rule, "Das deiktische Pronomen bezeichnet bei Pindar den Sieger und dessen Heimat", has been qualified by J. Péron, Rev. Phil. 50 (1976), 70: "quand la célébration de l'ode a lieu en sa présence et dans le cadre de cette même cité".

30: ποτε. Probably belongs to οἰκιστήρ (We., Schad.): cf. E. *Hec.* 891 καλεῖ σ' ἄνασσα δή ποτ' Ἰλίου, K.G. I, 609-10.

30: χολωθείς. For the emphatic position see above, on 21 διορθῶσαι. Defradas (42) argues that the addition implies extenuation; he refers to Pl. *Leg.* 866 d, but fails to observe (1) that Plato draws a distinction between a sudden outburst of anger and anger combined with premeditation, and (2) that even the man whose anger bursts forth uncontrollably is not an entirely involuntary killer (867 a). Defradas' comment (41) on 29 σκληρᾶς is even more biassed: "si le bois avait été moins dur, l'accident ne se serait pas produit". Cf. also Bern., 167-8.

30: δέ. Not adversative (e.g. Farn., Schad.) but explanatory: the sentence motivates Tlepolemus' behaviour.

30: ταραχαί. Smith (178) maintains "that ταράσσειν, ταραχῶδες and ταραχή are normally used at this time to denote supernatural interference", and that accordingly "some supernatural force took possession of Tlepolemos' mind and caused him to stray". He refers to Dodds, 51 n. 3: "Ταράσσειν is regularly used of supernatural interference" (similarly Bern., 169). A look into LSJ shows that this use is not predominant but simply one of many possibilities.

31: παρέπλαγξαν. Cf. Hom. υ 346 παρέπλαγξεν δὲ νόημα and Becker, 157-8.

31: δέ. 'And therefore': cf. Denn., 170, and my notes on Men. *Epitr.* 332, Mnem. IV 27 (1974), 31, Pind. *N.* 11, 15, ICS 7, 1 (1982), 24, and Hes. *Op.* 18. Smith (178) writes: "As Tlepolemos was σοφός, he went to the god; this is the effect of the juxtaposition σοφόν· μαντεύσατο". However, the consecutive force of δέ does not refer to Tlepolemus' wisdom but to the fact that he felt anxious about the consequences of his deed.

31: ἐς θεόν. It is not entirely correct to say that "the person is the place" (Gild.; similarly Fenn.): εἰς is used with regard to persons if emphasis is put on the place where these persons are dwelling or staying (K.G. I, 468, Schw. II, 459).

32: μέν. Emphatic (originally a weak form of μήν): cf. Denn., 360-1, Schw. II, 570, M. Leumann, *Kleine Schriften* (Zürich 1959), 229 ff.

32: χρυσοκόμας. For gold as a symbol of radiance and imperishableness and hence as a characteristic of the divine see my notes

on *O.* 3, 19 χρυσάρματος and 42 αἰδοιέστατος[56]. Pindar is more interested in nuances of light than of colour: see note on *O.* 14, 10 χρυσότοξον.

32: εὐώδεος. This refers either to the sweet odors rising from the cleft in the earth covered by the tripod (Plut. *Def. orac.* 437c) or to the laurel standing beside the tripod (Hom. *H. Ap.* 396, schol. Ar. *Plut.* 212-3, Lucr. I 739).

33: εἶπε. Not 'prescribed' but 'spoke of' (Me.: "Nachahmung der Orakelsprache"). When the verb is used in the sense of 'to command', it is always followed by an infinitive or by ἵνα (LSJ III 5). The reading εὐθῦν(αι) is impossible for metrical reasons, and εὐθὺς πλόος is also found at *O.* 6, 103.

33: Λερναίας. Lerna lies on the coast south of Argos.

33: εὐθύν. The idea that a straight way is the best one is a *topos* in Pindar: cf. 91 εὐθυπορεῖ, *O.* 6, 103, *O.* 13, 28, *I.* 5, 60, and M. Riemschneider, *Die Raumanschauung bei Pindar*, Ztschr.f.Ästhet. u. allg. Kunstw. 36 (1942), 96 ff., espec. 103.

33: νομόν. Not 'pasture land' (Slater; cf. Ruck-Matheson 'these meadows in the sea') but 'dwelling-place': cf. Hdt. V 92 α 1 ἄνθρωποι νομὸν ἐν θαλάσσῃ ἕξουσι and LSJ II 1. Me. and Gild. observe that such circumlocutions belong to the oracular style. But they are also characteristic of Pindar's mannerism: cf. *I.* 3, 12 κοίλα λέοντος βαθυστέρνου νάπα (for Nemea) and Dorns., *P.S.*, 28-32, Bowra, 209-11.

34: ἔνθα. Young (84; similarly Smith, 178) thinks that we are "never quite sure where the response of the god ends and the poet's narrative of the second myth begins", but it is obvious that the story introduced by ἔνθα does not form part of the oracle. Vian rightly observes that the oracle must have contained some information about the place to be reached by Tlepolemus, but this will hardly have been given in the form of the story told at 34 ff.

34: ποτε. Pindar tells the history of Rhodes in a regressive order, now turning to the period preceding the arrival of Tlepolemus. Regressive order is a characteristic of archaic narrative[57], but in the present case it has a special relevance. Gild. (184) rightly observes that the parallelism of the three periods (misfortune followed by a happy issue) is combined with a double climax: (1) in the rank of the persons (Heraclidae—sons of Helios—Helios himself), and (2) in the diminishing grade of the fault

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[56] Br. (107-8) goes much too far, however, in suggesting that χρυσοκόμας and 64 χρυσάμπυκα imply "la maîtrise du temps".

[57] Cf. B. A. van Groningen, *Over het ordenend verband in Herodotus' Historiën*, in *Exuli: Amico Huizinga amici non historici* (Haarlem 1948), 41 ff., id., *In the Grip of the Past* (Leiden 1953), ch. IV, espec. 44-5, where he refers to Pind. *P.* 3, *P.* 4, *N.* 10, Starr (above, on 20 ἐξ ἀρχᾶς), 346-7. See also note on *O.* 3, 13 τάν.

(murder—forgetfulness—absence). There is a third climax in the greatness of the boon following on the misfortune (colonization—prosperity—the island itself), in accordance with the archaic idea that things more remote in time are more valuable (van Groningen, 353)[58].

34: **βρέχε.** A literal interpretation of Hom. B 670 καί σφιν (the Rhodians) θεσπέσιον πλοῦτον κατέχευε Κρονίων (cf. Ψ 408 μὴ σφῶιν ἐλεγχείην καταχεύῃ)[59]. Pindar may also have had in mind Hom. *H. Ap.* 135-6 χρυσῷ δ' ἄρα Δῆλος ἅπασα/βεβρίθει καθορῶσα Διὸς Λητοῦς τε γενέθλην (cf. 98 ἧστο γὰρ ἄκρῳ 'Ολύμπῳ ὑπὸ χρυσέοισι νέφεσσιν). Similarly, Pindar transfers the traditional motif of Zeus approaching Danae in a rain of gold to his union with Alcmene (*I.* 7, 5). This does not imply, however, that "Zeus by the first shower fertilizes and impregnates the land of Rhodes" and that the living works of art produced by the Heliadae (52) are the result of this fertilization (Rubin, 74-5): the Homeric parallel (B 670) shows that the shower on Rhodes refers to wealth, not to birth[60].

34: **νιφάδεσσι.** Cf. Hom. M. 279-80 ὤρετο μητίετα Ζεὺς/νιφέμεν, Xen. *Cyn.* 8, 1.

34: **πόλιν.** The town and its surroundings: cf. LSJ II. Conversely γῆ (γαῖα) sometimes refers to a city: see note on *O.* 14, 19 Μινύεια.

35: **'Αφαίστου.** For artistic representations of Hephaestus acting as a midwife at Athena's birth cf. Rubin, 72 n. 19, Bern., 173 n. 40[61]. Accordingly, the phrase 'Αφαίστου τέχναισιν does not depend on χαλκελάτῳ, as is assumed by Duchemin, *Orient*, 127 n. 11.

36: **χαλκελάτῳ.** According to Fränkel (565 n. 22), this means that "das Erz der Axt in den Schädel getrieben wurde" (cf. S. *El.* 484-5 χαλχόπλακτος γένυς, E. *Phoen.* 1577 χαλχόκροτον φάσγανον). But χαλκήλατος always means 'forged out of brass'.

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[58] See further *In the Grip of the Past*, 47 ff., 82 ff. Cf. also Norwood, 142-3, A. Rivier, *Études de littérature grecque* (Geneva 1975), 272-5.

Bern. (181) rightly points out "la predilezione di Pindaro per i miti relativi alle origini" (cf. also 140 n. 55), but she omits to explain this predilection. On the other hand, she adds (178-9) another climax, viz. a "progressiva *climax* dall'ombra verso la luce nell'impianto generale del carme". It is true that the contrast between darkness and light plays an important part in the myth, but I fail to see "un graduale passaggio verso la luce".

[59] It is unnecessary to assume that Pindar adopted the motif "from some other poem which picked up a hint from Homer" (Bowra, 283).

[60] In support of her theory, Rubin (75) uses two very questionable arguments, viz. (1) that the 'seed of fire' (48) is identical with the seed of life, and (2) that with regard to the works of art "their physical contact with the earth and their reptilian character suggest autochthony": see below, on 52 ἑρπόντεσσι. Duchemin (*Orient*, 114-5) goes astray in another direction by suggesting that in the original version of the story the shower of gold served to honour Athena. Her comparison of this glorification with the Sumerian 'Exaltation of Ishtar' (118-9) is no less arbitrary.

[61] See further M. Delcourt, *Héphaistos ou la légende du magicien* (Paris 1957), 137-53.

36: πελέκει. Does not depend on τέχναισιν (Me.) but the causal τέχναισιν is followed by the instrumental πελέκει[62]. Similarly a modal dative may be followed by an instrumental one: cf. A. *Pr.* 207 δρόμῳ πτεροῖς and K.G. I, 411. The converse order is found in *P.* 3, 9-11 τόξοισιν ὑπ' 'Αρτέμιδος ... τέχναις 'Απόλλωνος, which shows that τέχναις is almost equivalent to 'through' (cf. πάσῃ τέχνῃ etc.).

36: κατ' ἄκραν. "We should expect ἐξ [cf. Schad. 'aus dem Haupt'], but Athena makes her sire's head the stage of her first appearance" (Gild.). Farn. wrongly 'running down' (similarly Ruck-Matheson 'down from').

37: ἀλάλαξεν. As a goddess of war (Me.): cf. 43 ἐγχειβρόμῳ and ἀλαλά (*N.* 3, 60, *I.* 7, 10, fr. 78, 1) and ἀλαλατός (*P.* 1, 72).

37: ὑπερμάκει. Not 'langdauernd' (We.) but 'exceedingly loud' (LSJ). Cf. Hom. Β 224 μακρὰ βοῶν, Γ 81 μακρὸν ἄυσε, LSJ I 3 and V. Kaimio (155 n. 456) rightly points out that the assumption of an original connotation 'so as to be heard afar' (LSJ) is not incompatible with the fact that in archaic thought intensity is expressed by means of quantity (cf. Hom. μέγα χαίρειν, πολλὰ ἀρᾶσθαι, and Snell, 26-7), as I suggested in my commentary of 1972, but rather agrees with it.

38: Οὐρανὸς ... Γαῖα. They were present at Athena's birth because they had advised Zeus to conceal her in his own belly (Hes. *Th.* 890-1).

38: ἔφριξε. Their fright was caused not only by her cry of war but probably also by her panoply: cf. Stes. 233 P. and Hom. *H.Ath.* 5-6. See further Rubin, 70-2, who is wrong, however, in suggesting that "the birth of armed Athena represents a threat to cosmic order": the fright of Heaven and Earth has a purely dramatic function, emphasizing Athena's impressive appearance: cf. Allen on *H.Ath.* 9 f., who compares *H.Art.* 6-9 (N.B. the use of φρίσσει at 8). Cf. also *H.Ap.* 2-4[63].

39 ff. Barkhuizen (*Patterns*, 26-8) assumes a chiastic pattern connecting this myth with the preceding one: ἔκτανεν (29)—φρενῶν ταραχαὶ παρέπλαγξαν (30-1)—εἶπε (33)—ἔντειλεν (40)—παρέλκει ... ἔξω φρενῶν (46-7)—χερσί (51). However, (1) the divine order has a different function in the two stories, (2) the craft of the Rhodians can hardly be said to "balance the crime at the beginning", and (3) a pattern covering such a large distance could hardly have been noticed by an audience. The last objection equally applies to such similarities as χθόνα δατέοντο (55)—γαῖαν δασσάμενοι (75) (*Patterns*, 31-2), or ἐναργέα (42)—ἐς αἰθέρα (67) (*Patterns*, 29-30).

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[62] Gal. wrongly calls both datives instrumental.

[63] Duchemin (116 and 128 n. 24) is certainly wrong in thinking that the presence of Heaven and Earth may be connected with the geographical situation of the temple of Athena Lindia.

39: φαυσίμβροτος. Aeolic for φαεσίμβροτος (Hom.).

39: Ὑπεριονίδας. Hyperion is the father of Helios (Hom. μ 176, Hes. *Th.* 374, Hom. *H. Dem.* 26). Elsewhere the name is an epithet of Helios or is used for Helios himself (Hom. α 8, 24, etc.). The word may originally have been an adjective equivalent to (properly, a comparative of) ὕπερος[64] and have been misunderstood as a proper name from the formula ὑπερίονος Ἠελίοιο (Hom. α 8, μ 263, Θ 480).

40: μέλλον. Not to be connected with φυλάξασθαι (Pu., Latt., Conw., Le.)[65] but used absolutely: 'soon to become due' (Fenn.), i.e. after Athena would have installed herself at Lindos. Br. (46) rightly observes that μέλλω can express an intention, but his translation 'la tâche qu'ils se préparaient à accomplir' is impossible (see also below, on χρέος).

40: φυλάξασθαι. 'Observe': see my note on *O.* 3, 41 φυλάσσοντες. Br. (46-7) seems to attribute a pregnant sense to the verb, as appears from his explanation, "Si Hélios requiert la vigilance de ses fils, c'est parce que ces derniers vont devoir se hâter", but this is unparalleled.

40: χρέος. 'Duty' (LSJ IV). Vian thinks that my interpretation, 'he ordained them to observe an obligation soon to become due', "ne permet pas de rendre compte de la proposition finale qui suit". But that clause is an epexegetical definition of the χρέος. Vian's own interpretation, "il leur ordonna de guetter l'événement à venir (*i.e.* la naissance d'Athéna)", apparently takes χρέος to mean χρῆμα, which is possible (cf. LSJ II 2) but rather flat: at *O.* 1, 45 and *P.* 8, 33, listed by Rumpel under 'negotium, res', the meaning is 'duty' and 'debt' respectively, and in the present passage the word obviously refers to a task imposed by Helios on his sons. Br. (46) suggests that the Heliadae set themselves this task: he compares S. *El.* 74 φρουρῆσαι χρέος, which he translates by 'veiller à ta besogne', but the context shows that χρέος is not a self-imposed task.

41: παισίν. Pindar takes it to be common knowledge that the oldest population of the island was descended from Helios and the nymph Rhode.

41: φίλοις. Br. (46 and 56 n. 11) rightly observes that this may have an affective connotation, but his translation 'plein d'affectation pour eux' goes too far. For the affective connotation cf. Fränkel, 92, E. Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, I (Paris 1969), 338 ff., and my note on Tyrt. 6-7 D. = 10 W., 5, Mnem. IV 22 (1969), 341. It may be added that the basic meaning of φιλία is a close relationship connected with common interests (see my note on Hes. *Op.* 184),

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[64] Cf. H. Usener, *Götternamen* (^{3}Frankfurt 1948), 19 ff.

[65] Schad.'s 'künftig zu wahren' is equally wrong. Ruck-Matheson's 'perpetual commemoration' is still worse, for 'perpetual' is contradicted by πρῶτοι.

and that the degree of affection implied varies according to the situation (cf. I. Opelt, Glotta 56, 1978, 182-4) and may approach zero.

42: πρῶτοι. Another point taken to be common knowledge is that the new goddess "would abide for ever with the people who first duly performed her rites" (Fenn.; cf. Young, 85 n. 1).

42: ἐναργέα. Not 'brilliant' (Pu., LSJ) but 'visible from afar', i.e. on the acropolis of Lindos (cf. 48 ἀνέβαν). Similarly Alc. 129, 2 εὔδειλον τέμενος[66].

42: σεμνάν. Not incidental or improvised but based on an official rite: cf. Hom. *H.Dem.* 476-7 ὄργια .../σεμνά, τά γ' οὔ πως ἔστι παρεξίμεν, S. *Tr.* 765-6 σεμνῶν ὀργίων ἐδαίετο/φλὸξ αἱματηρά.

42: θυσίαν. 'Burnt-offering': cf. Chantraine, 448-9, J. Casabona, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices en grec* (Aix-en-Provence 1966), 70-5.

Ruck-Matheson (55) maintain that here "the festival motif reappears" and that this motif "also suggests the ceremonies honoring Tlepolemos at Rhodes [v. 80]". The same motif is said (53, 58) to close the poem (v. 94). But there is nothing in the text to suggest that these scenes have something in common; so we are not justified in speaking of a recurrent motif.

42: θέμενοι. Not 'established' (Latt.), 'found' (Conw.; similarly Pu., Schad.), for τίθεσθαι is equivalent to ποιεῖσθαι (see above, on 6 θῆκε). For the circumlocution cf. *P.* 4, 29 πρόσοφιν θηκάμενος, *P.* 4. 112-3 κᾶδος ... θηκάμενοι, *O.* 13, 53 θεμέναν γάμον, Hom. α 116 σκέδασιν τίθεσθαι, Solon 1 D. = 13 W., 46 φειδωλὴν τ., A. *Pr.* 782 χάριν τ., *Ag.* 1059 σχολὴν τ., S. *Aj.* 13 σπουδὴν τ., E. *Med.* 66 σιγὴν τ., LSJ C 4[67]. Dorns. (*P.S.*, 28) observes: "Wie v. Wilamowitz, Reden und Vorträge[3] 1913, 227 bemerkt, ist das gemeingriechische Wort für 'machen' auch im Sinne von reddo, rendre in der Literatursprache der Chorlyrik verboten". It is perhaps significant that Pindar uses ποιητός only once (*N.* 5, 29), and in an unfavourable sense.

43: θυμὸν ἰάναιεν. An epic phrase: cf. Hom. Ω 119, ο 379, LSJ I 3. Onians (30 and 46-7) points out that ἰαίνω in this formula originally had a physiological meaning. See further W. Zink, *Griechische Ausdrucksweisen für Warm und Kalt im seelischen Bereich* (Heidelberg 1962), 2-3.

43: ἐγχειβρόμῳ. For βρέμω used of clashing arms cf. E. *Heracl.* 832, *Phoen.* 113.

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[66] Ruck-Matheson's 'altar monstrance' is a curious product of their attempt "to see Pindar not with our own eyes but with his" (10).

[67] For σπονδὰς τίθεσθαι = σπένδεσθαι cf. W. Vollgraff, *Le décret d'Argos relatif à un pacte entre Knossos et Tylissos* (Verh. Kon. Ned. Akad. v. Wet., afd. Lett. N.R. 51: 1, 1948), 23.

43: ἀρετάν. Not 'virtue', for this is rather the basis than the result of αἰδώς. In Pindar ἀρετή often means 'success' (e.g. 89 ἀρετὰν εὑρόντα, *N.* 5, 52-3 ἑλεῖν ἀρετάν), but it also denotes the ability to achieve success: cf. *I.* 3, 13 ἀρετὰν σύμφυτον, Gund. 118 n. 106; see further note on *O.* 3, 18 ἀρετᾶν. In the present case the latter aspect predominates, as appears from ἐν ἔβαλεν ἀνθρώποισι[68].

44: χάρματα. Not 'wohlgefällige Taten' (Wil., 366 n.3), for the word never has such a causative meaning[69], but the joys caused by the success implied in ἀρετάν. For καί 'and hence' see note on *O.* 3, 34.

44: Αἰδώς. 'Reserve which keeps at a respectful distance': see note on *O.* 3, 42 αἰδοιέστατος. Here it does not denote 'regard to duty' (Fenn.) but the prudence of the man who avoids excessive risks: cf. *N.* 11, 45-6 δέδεται γὰρ ἀναιδεῖ/ἐλπίδι γυῖα· προμαθείας δ' ἀπόκεινται ῥοαί[70].

44: Προμαθέος. The parallel just quoted shows that the translation 'en respectant Prométhée' (Pu., Gal.) is wrong[71]. 'Respect for forethought' (Latt.; similarly Bo. 'if forethought is honoured', Schad. 'die Beachtung der Voraussicht') is improbable: it is true that foresight is the contrary of forgetfulness (Bowra, 225), but 'respect for foresight' would be a strange way to denote keen foresight. We may take προμαθέος as a subjective genitive: for the use of the adjective as a substantive cf. K.G. I, 60, 268, and my notes on Pl. *Phdr.* 263 c 1, Mnem. IV 8 (1955), 283-4, A. *Pr.* 871, in *Miscellanea ... Kamerbeek*, 468, and Hes. *Op.* 71. Fenn. and Farn. translate 'born of Forethought': they compare *P.* 5, 27-8 τὰν 'Επιμαθέος ἄγων/ὀψινόου θυγατέρα Πρόφασιν, but the qualification ὀψινόου and the genitive of origin show that the names do not stand for ἐπιμήθεια and προμήθεια, as is held by Farn[72]. Pindar uses the traditional mythical figures, but gives them a new function. Farn. himself observes that "the simple genitive of parentage is only found with personal names": accord-

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[68] Ruck-Matheson's 'joy in perfection' is obviously wrong.

[69] As is pointed out by C. E. von Erffa, *Αἰδώς und verwandte Begriffe in ihrer Entwicklung von Homer bis Demokrit* (Leipzig 1937), 78.

[70] Wil. (366 n. 3) takes the word to be a genitive: 'wohlgefällige Taten einer vorbedachten Respektbezeugung', and καί to mean 'also': "auch mit solcher Höflichkeit erreicht man dasselbe wie mit dem mutigen Kämpfen". But Farn. rightly observes that this "is nearer to the style of modern journalism than to anything Hellenic".

[71] Similarly Duchemin, 105 n. 1, and more emphatically in her book *Prométhée* (Paris 1975), 50-1, Young, 85 n. 2, Br., 45 ff. Young argues that "it is difficult not to think of Prometheus' connection with fire, when the story turns on the failure of the Heliadae to bring fire for the sacrifice with them". But it is far more difficult to imagine that the Heliadae would not have forgotten the fire if they had in some way 'respected' Prometheus. This objection is not met by the explanation suggested by Br. (48), "Les Héliades, quant à eux, doivent respecter en Prométhée le dieu qui a fait un partage tout à l'avantage des hommes, lors de l'instauration des règles de sacrifice".

[72] For Προμηθεύς = προμήθεια Farn. refers to A. *Pr.* 86 αὐτὸν γάρ σε δεῖ Προμηθέως, but there the meaning is 'you are yourself in need of a Prometheus'.

ingly, both Αἰδώς and Προμαθέος should be capitalized: cf. *N.* 9, 36, where Αἰδώς is called a θεός. For the fact that Pindar does not draw a sharp distinction between personal gods and deified abstractions see above, on 5 χάριν.

Defradas (44-5) points out that Pindar's maxim recalls the Delphic inscription πρόνοιαν τίμα. For affinities between his mental attitude and Delphic wisdom cf. Schmid, 614, Schwenn, 59 ff., J. Defradas, Inf.litt. 21 (1969), 127-34, Anastase, 269-71. For his oracular style cf. Bowra, 210-1. On the other hand, it is wrong to think that prudence forms a recurrent motif in the poem[73]: the function of the maxim is to form a foil to the next sentence.

45: ἐπὶ ... βαίνει. Not 's'avance' (Pu.) or 'spread' (Ruck-Matheson) but 'bears down upon' (cf. Fenn. 'comes over'), scil. men[74]. Cf. *O.* 2, 95 αἶνον ἐπέβα κόρος, LSJ III 2. For the conception of mental states as coming upon man from the outside cf. Hom. B 33 μηδέ σε λήθη αἱρείτω, and Becker, 95.

45: μάν. Gild.: "Surprise is shown by tmesis and μάν". But μάν has its usual adversative force and here emphasizes the contrast with the preceding sentence: forgetfulness is the opposite of forethought[75].

45: λάθας. Rubin (73) thinks that Pindar "sets the forgetfulness of the Heliadae in discharging their obligation to Helius in opposition to Pindar's own faithfulness in remembering to perform his epinician obligation". She observes (1) that χρέος (40) is also used by Pindar for the composition of a victory ode, and (2) that there is a close connection between poetry and memory. But it should be added (1) that the Greek text does not contain the slightest hint of a correspondence or contrast between the Heliadae and the poet, and (2) that Pindar did not write cryptograms[76].

45: ἀτέκμαρτα. Not 'bafflingly' (Gild., LSJ, Conw.) but 'unawares'[77].

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[73] As is suggested by Fraccaroli (I, 292), who refers to 53 and 72 (but σοφία and σοφώτατα refer to artistic skill), 90-1 (where moral virtue, not intellectual attentiveness is meant), and to the fact that Tlepolemus obeyed the oracle (which is only natural) and that the Heliadae followed the advice of their father (which is not remarkable either).

[74] Schad. wrongly takes τι to be the object ('kommt ... über manches').

[75] I have abandoned the interpretation proposed in my commentary of 1972, that forgetfulness is an extreme case of αἰδώς.

[76] It is equally rash to conclude (Rubin, *loc. cit.*) "that if the sons of Helius are blessed and have received divine favors even after their oversight and error and even without praying for such favors, then the poet Pindar and the celebrated victor Diagoras deserve divine blessedness (*olbia*) [*sic*] and grace (*charis*) all the more".

[77] From A. *Pers.* 909-12 δύστηνος ἐγὼ στυγερᾶς μοίρας/τῆσδε κυρήσας ἀτεκμαρτοτάτης,/ὡς ὠμοφρόνως δαίμων ἐνέβη/Περσῶν γενεᾷ Smith (180) concludes that ἀτέκμαρτα "clearly denotes a special characteristic of the operation of a daimon". He seems to forget that the word is used elsewhere (see LSJ) without such a reference.

45: νέφος. A nautical metaphor: see above, on 25 χρέμανται. Young (85-6) rightly observes that the dark cloud is followed by a bright one (49). He is wrong, however, in suggesting that the poet interpreted Hom. B 670 in a literal way in order to create a meteorological imagery pervading the whole poem. Similarly Vian refers to the image of a cloud implied in 25 χρέμανται, but wrongly concludes that such images "forment la trame de l'ode". The fact that an image recurs does not mean that it is a theme on wich the composition of the poem is built.

46-7: παρέλκει ἔξω φρενῶν. 'Withdraws from the field of mental vision'. Cf. the similar use of ὀφθαλμός for 'field of vision' (Hom. Γ 306 ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρᾶσθαι, LSJ I).

46: πραγμάτων. We should expect 'the right course of action', but I do not believe that πρᾶγμα here means 'deed' or 'action' (as is assumed by LSJ I and most translators). Pindar likes to regard human actions from an objective point of view, as things that happen: cf. Strohm, 22-3. Accordingly, a way of action is seen as the way in which things work. Similarly in *O.* 13, 75 πρᾶγμα denotes the things that will happen to Bellerophon as well as his own actions.

48: σπέρμα. No metaphor, for fire was regarded as a living being: it has μένος (Hom. Z 182 etc.), it devours (Ψ 183 δάπτει), and cries (Ψ 216 ἴαχε); see further my remarks in Lampas 2 (1969), 97-8. These parallels are especially relevant as Pindar adopted the phrase 'seed of fire' from Homer (ε 490 σπέρμα πυρός). Cf. also *P.* 3, 36-7 πῦρ ἐξ ἑνὸς σπέρματος ἐχθορόν[78].

48: ἀνέβαν. Scil. to the acropolis (49) of Lindus. Pindar suppresses the fact that Athena did not choose her domicile in Rhodes but in Athens. Cf. his principle enounced at *N.* 5, 18 τὸ σιγᾶν πολλάκις ἐστὶ σοφώτατον ἀνθρώπῳ νοῆσαι and fr. 180, 2 ἔσθ' ὅτε πιστόταται σιγᾶς ὁδοί, and Gund., 47-8. See also above, n. 46.

48: οὔ. For the emphatic position at the end of the sentence cf. S. *Aj.* 545, *Ant.* 255, K.G. II, 179, Schw. II, 596.

48: δέ. Has consecutive force: see above, on 31 δέ. Accordingly, a semi-colon, not a full stop (We., Sn.M., Le., Duchemin, *Orient*, 127 n. 14), should be put after οὔ.

48: ἀπύροις ἱεροῖς. Duchemin (*Orient*, 120 ff.) compares the sacrifice arranged by Elijah (1 Kings 18, 30-8), but the Greek term excludes the use of sacrificial animals (cf. A. *Ag.* 69-70, E. fr. 912, 4). Libations and

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[78] Br.'s contention (181), "l'absence de la 'semence de la flamme' évoque directement l'impuissance sexuelle", is simply ridiculous, just as his suggestion (181, 184, 187 n. 12) of the possibility of reading sexual allusions into 28 σχάπτῳ, 46 ὀρθάν, 48 ἀνέβαν, 70 ἀκτίνων, 71 ἵππων.

offering fruits and cakes to the gods were quite common in Greece (cf. Nilsson, 127-9, *KP* IV, 308-9), but in the case of Athena it must have seemed abnormal (46 παρέλκει ... ὀρθὰν ὁδόν) to the inhabitants of the main-land. The explanation probably lies in the pre-Greek origin of Athena Lindia (cf. Nilsson, 434 n. 1).

49: ἄλσος. The use of this word does not necessarily imply the existence of trees: see my note on *O.* 3, 18 ἄλσει.

49: ἀκροπόλει. Scil. of Lindus, where there was a famous temple of Athena[79].

49: κείνοισι μέν. Fenn., Gild., Schr. read κείνοις ὁ μέν, but it is evident from the context (34 and 43) that the subject is Zeus. Besides it was commonly assumed that rain comes from Zeus (cf. Hom. M 25, Alc. 338, 1, Ar. *Nub.* 368).

It should be added that κείνοισι μέν is not answered by αὐτὰ δέ (as is assumed by Br., 48) but that μέν has emphatic force (see above, on 32) and that "when μέν follows a pronoun at the beginning of a sentence which is not introduced by a connecting particle proper, it seems to acquire a quasi-connective, progressive, force" (Denn., 360). We should perhaps have expected an adversative connection, but Fenn. rightly observes: "Pindar's point in this ode is to show that men may be blessed in spite of transgression, so that it is quite natural for him to go at once from their omission of fire to the marks of divine favour which they received". The story is intended to illustrate the maxim enunciated at 25-6, so that it is unnecessary, and even wrong, to supply some motive for the gods' favour[80].

49: ξανθάν. Duchemin (197) rightly observes that "les notions de couleur et d'éclat sont étroitement associées". Cf. *P.* 4, 225 βόας, οἳ φλόγ' ἀπὸ ξανθᾶν γενύων πνέον, *O.* 6, 55 ἴων ξανθαῖσι καὶ παμπορφύροις ἀκτῖσι, fr. 70b, 10 αἰθομένα τε δαΐς ὑπὸ ξανθαῖσι πεύκαις, Ba. 3, 56 σβέννυεν ξανθὰ[ν φλόγα. See further above, on 32 χρυσοκόμας[81].

50: χρυσόν. For the cognate accusative cf. LSJ ὕω I 4, K.G. I, 308-9. Smith (180) rightly argues that this shower of gold is identical with the

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[79] See further P. Von der Mühll, MH 20 (1963), 199 n. 9a = *Ausgew. kl. Schriften*, 208-9 n. 15.

[80] As is done by Thummer (*Religiosität*, 74), whose explanation, "denn sie erkannten den guten Willen der Rhodier", is rightly rejected by Br., 48. His own motivation, however, that the Heliadae won the favour of Zeus by re-establishing the situation existing before Prometheus stole fire from heaven, is still more artificial, and his conclusion (95-6), "tout se passe comme si les Héliades avaient *échangé* le feu contre l'or" and "le monde des Héliades se présente comme l'antithèse de celui de l'homme hésiodique", is quite arbitrary.

[81] Cf. also H. Dürbeck, *Zur Charakteristik der griechischen Farbenbezeichnungen* (Bonn 1977), 100 ff.

one mentioned at 34[82]: Willcock refers to "Pindar's habit of stating the end-result of a myth at the beginning". This does not imply, however, that the shower of gold forms "the ring-structure frame for the birth of Athena", as is assumed by C. A. P. Ruck, Hermes 96 (1968), 131 (cf. Ruck-Matheson, 60, where the birth of Athena is called "the mathematical centre" of the poem).

Smith (180-1) further thinks that "Zeus gave wealth to the Rhodians through the τέχνη formally given by Athena. This logical interpretation of the golden cloud through this causal relation has been expressed paratactically in the μέν ... δέ sequence". However, Pindar does not say that their craft made them rich, but that it made them renowned (52)[83].

50: αὐτά. Emphasizes the miraculous character of divine favour: cf. the similar use of αὐτά at *O.* 13, 76[84].

50: τέχναν. This may be taken as an accusative of reference (Pu. *et al.*): cf. S. *O.R.* 1522 πάντα μὴ βούλου κρατεῖν. But such parallels as *O.* 9, 66 πόλιν δ' ὤπασεν λαόν τε διαιτᾶν and Hom. Ψ 151 Πατρόκλῳ ἥρωϊ κόμην ὀπάσαιμι φέρεσθαι show that τέχναν is more likely to be the object of ὤπασε, κρατεῖν having epexegetic force: 'to excel therein'. For Pindar's appreciation of τέχνη cf. Becker, 63, Bowra, 4-5[85].

51: πᾶσαν. 'Every kind of' (cf. Hom. ζ 233-4 ἴδρις, ὃν Ἥφαιστος δέδαεν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη/τέχνην παντοίην). For πᾶς = παντοῖος see above, on 12 παμφώνοισι.

51: ἐπιχθονίων. Probably depends on ἀριστοπόνοις rather than on κρατεῖν, for κρατέω used in the sense of 'to surpass' has the accusative. For κρατέω used absolutely cf. S. *O.R.* 1522 quoted above, on 50 τέχναν, LSJ II 1.

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[82] Similarly Von der Mühll, MH 20 (1963), 200 = *Ausgew. kl. Schr.*, 209. In my commentary of 1972 I wrongly concluded from ἀνίκα (35) that the shower mentioned at 34 took place at the moment of Athena's birth.

[83] Br. (67) assumes an "association de l'or et de la *technè*, chez Pindare": he refers to *O.* 13, 78, but this does not prove anything. He further (116-7) refers to a theory of Marx and concludes that "l'or, représentant de la richesse abstraite, peut se convertir en n'importe quelle marchandise" and that "la finalité de l'activité technique en tant que productrice de valeur d'échange est la conversion d'une marchandise particulière en équivalent général, la production en vue de l'obtention d'argent". But Pindar's description of the art of the Heliadae does not contain the faintest allusion to merchandise and earning money.

[84] Br. (52) thinks that Athena is contrasted with Prometheus, but this, just as his further conclusions, is based on his erroneous interpretation of 44 προμαθέος. His view that at *O.* 13, 76 αὐτά "souligne seulement que c'est la fille de Zeus, et non Zeus lui-même" (67-8) is equally wrong.

[85] See further E. Schaerer, *Ἐπιστήμη et τέχνη. Étude sur les notions de connaissance et d'art d'Homère à Platon* (Macon 1930), espec. 4-5, J. J. Pollitt, *The Ancient View of Greek Art* (New Haven-London 1974), 32-7.

51: Γλαυκῶπις. The most probable translation seems to be 'with gleaming eyes': cf. Hom. Υ 172 γλαυκιόων, and see further my note on Hes. *Op*. 72.

52: δέ. Has explanatory (specifying) force.

52: ἑρπόντεσσι. For the meaning 'to move' cf. fr. 106, where a dog is called πυκινώτατον ἑρπετόν, Hom. Ρ 447 ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἔπι πνείει τε καὶ ἕρπει. Herodotus first uses ἑρπετόν for 'reptile' (I 140, 3, IV 183, 4). There is no evidence for the supposition that the primary meaning of ἕρπω is 'to move slowly' (LSJ) or 'ramper, glisser'[86]: at Hom. Ρ 447, μ 395, ρ 158 a slow movement is not obvious. The use of the verb for 'to creep' (cf. ἑρπύζω) seems to be a pregnant sense developed from an original sense 'to move steadily'[87].

52: τε. 'And particularly': see note on *O*. 3, 39 τε.

52: κέλευθοι. Gild. thinks that "the statues were set up in the streets" (similarly Farn. *et al.*), but Dissen was certainly right in taking the phrase to refer to the walking of statues: 'the roads carried them about' is equivalent to 'they went their own ways'. For Pindar's tendency to transpose the functions of subject and object see above, on 17 ἀδόντα Δίκᾳ. For κέλευθος implying the idea of movement cf. Becker, 11-4.

The art of making walking statues was ascribed to Hephaestus (Hom. Σ 417)[88], Daedalus (E. *Hec*. 838, Pl. *Euth*. 15 b, *Meno* 97 d)[89], and the Rhodian Telchines (Strabo XIV 2, 7), and the last were apparently identified by Pindar with the Heliadae[90].

53: κλέος. This is connected by Smith (181) with "the key-motif of giving and the fame resulting from the gift". But there is no such key-motif, for 6 ζαλωτόν does not necessarily imply fame.

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[86] Chantraine, 374, who suggests that "le sens d' 'aller' en grec résulte d'un emploi dialectal expressif, favorisé parce que le mot s'oppose volontiers à la notion de 'voler' ". Cf. also C. J. Ruijgh, *L'élément achéen dans la langue épique* (Assen 1957), 133-4, and my note on A. *Pr*. 127 in *Miscellanea ... Kamerbeek,* 454-5.

[87] Cf. Bowra, 195: "He [Pindar] always uses the word for some orderly and ordinary progress".

[88] Cf. also Pind. *Pae*. 8, 71. See further Delcourt, *Héphaistos* (above, n. 61), 48-64.

[89] See further F. Frontisi-Ducroux, *Dédale* (Paris 1975), 100 ff., whose explanation, referring to the transportability of the old ξόανα (104), is rightly criticized by Br., 66. His own interpretation (64-7), however, which is based on the assumption of a contrast between artistic skill and sexuality, is so strained (at p. 118 he even maintains that "l'attribution de la *technè*" is "l'antithèse de la transmission du *klèros*") that it can be dismissed without detailed discussion.

The stories about walking statues obviously form the mythical expression of the admiration felt by the early Greeks for realistic art (cf. e.g. Hom. Σ 584-9, Hes. *Th*. 584). Cf. also Bern., 176 n. 46, and R. Kassel, ZPE 51 (1983), 2-4.

[90] Duchemin, *Prométhée* (above, n. 71), 51, suggests that Pindar alludes to the art of creating living beings ascribed to Prometheus. This view is rightly rejected by Br. (65), but for the wrong reason: there is no opposition between Athena and Prometheus in the present ode (see above, n. 84), but Prometheus made living creatures, not works of art.

53: κλέος βαθύ. Cf. Hom. Π 596 Βαθυκλέης. Such translations as 'deep' (Bo., Latt., Schad.) or 'profound' (Slater) are unsatisfactory[91]. R. Führer, *Lex. frühgr. Ep.* II, 2, assumes a development from 'deep' to 'rich', but see below. Farn. seems to me right in translating the word by 'high': cf. the epic formula κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει. Similarly *P.* 1, 66 βαθύδοξοι (Fenn. wrongly thinks that "βαθυ- seems to have reference to the secluded, impenetrable and secret character of the Spartan community"). For βαθύς 'high' cf. e.g. *N.* 9, 40 βαθυκρήμνοισι δ' ἀμφ' ἀκταῖς, Hom. E 142 βαθέης ἐξάλλεται αὐλῆς (cf. 138 αὐλῆς ὑπεράλμενον).

The meaning of βαθύς has been misunderstood in other contexts, too. In the Homeric phrase βαθὺ λήιον (B 147 etc.) the word is commonly translated by 'deep' or 'thick', but Herodotus (V 92, ζ 2) took it—rightly, I think—to refer to the height of the crops, and this is also suggested by the epic context (B 148 ἐπί τ' ἠμύει ἀσταχύεσσιν, ι 135 εἰς ὥρας ἀμῷεν). Similarly, βαθυλείμων (*P.* 10, 15) and A. *Pr.* 652-3 βαθὺν λειμῶνα do not refer to the geographical situation of the meadow but to the height of the grass (cf. Hdt. IV 53, 2 ποίη βαθυτάτη). Cf. also A. *Suppl.* 554 βαθύπλουτον χθόνα (cf. S. *Aj.* 130 μακροῦ πλούτου βάθει, which shows that Friis Johansen-Whittle are wrong in taking βαθύπλουτον to refer to "the deep, and so rich, soil of the land"), E. *Phoen.* 648 βαθυσπόρους γύας (LSJ wrongly 'deep-sown'; for σπόρος 'crop' cf. Hdt. IV 53, 2).

53: δαέντι. Not 'to a good judge' (Me., Fenn., Gild., van Groningen, 354 n. 1) but 'in a skilled artist' (cf. Hom. *O* 411 τέκτονος ἐν παλάμῃσι δαήμονος). The dat. does not mean 'in the eyes of' but 'in the case of' (K.G., I, 429, Schw. II, 189). See further Bern., 177 n. 47.

53: σοφία. 'Skill' (Hom. O 412 of a τέκτων)[92]. In Pindar's eyes, σοφία is a precondition of art, but a dangerous quality because it easily leads to deception: cf. *N.* 7, 22-4 and my remarks in Mnem. IV 36 (1983), 29.

53: καὶ σοφία μείζων ἄδολος τελέθει. 'Even superior skill', i.e. even that skill which surpasses mediocrity and therefore evokes the suspicion of trickery, 'is honest'[93]. Fenn. wrongly thinks that "the fair fighting of

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[91] 'Deep were they embued in glory' (Ruck-Matheson) is an artificial construction, and Barkhuizen's assumption (100) of an associative connection between βαθύ and the fact that Rhodos arose from the depths of the sea (57) is equally far-fetched.

[92] See further B. Snell, *Die Ausdrücke für den Begriff des Wissens in der vorplatonischen Philosophie* (Berlin 1924), 1 ff., B. Gladigow, *Sophia und Kosmos* (Hildesheim 1965), 9 ff., F. Maier, *Der σοφός-Begriff* (Augsburg 1970), espec. 69.

[93] Cf. Wil., 367. Later he changed his opinion and took μείζων to be the predicate, ἄδολος the attribute (*Kl. Schriften*, V 2, 33). This view, however, does not lead to a satisfactory interpretation. Fenn., who translates 'even skill free from trickery is superior', writes: "The force of καί is seen if we consider that primarily objection to trickery is ethical, but is here transferred to aesthetics", but I do not see it. Bowra (339) thinks that Pindar wanted to suggest "that these Heliadae were all the better artists because, unlike the unnamed Telchines, they were honest", but this leaves καί unex-

Diagoras is glanced at''. Defradas (47) translates 'qui ne se laisse pas tromper' and takes this to refer to Helios. However, apart from the fact that there are no parallels for such a passive sense, it should be observed (1) that the gods did not intend to deceive Helios, and (2) that Defradas' interpretation fails to account for καί. Gild. rightly points out that the Telchines were reputed to be wizards and that Pindar opposes this tradition. Ruck (*art. cit.*, 129) argues that ''the difficulty of this interpretation is that the Telchines have not been mentioned''. But Pindar on purpose does not call them by their name in order to identify them with the Heliadae[94]. For the same reason he replaces Halia, the sister of the Telchines, as mother of Rhode by Aphrodite (14).

54: δέ. Gild. writes: ''The reputation of this charge [the bad repute of the Telchines] naturally brings up the story of the birth of Rhodes''. But there is a much closer connection: Pindar wants to answer the question, ''What made such skilful artists choose Rhodes as their domicile?'' (53 σοφία is taken up by 72 σοφώτατα)[95].

54. Barkhuizen (*Patterns*, 26) maintains that the idea of forgetfulness is ''the link that connects these two myths'', but such a connection is not emphasized in the text. It is true that 61 μνασθέντι implies forgetfulness, but this is too weak a basis for the assumption of a chiastic reference to 45 λάθας (*Patterns*, 28-9).

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plained. The same objection applies to C. A. P. Ruck, Hermes 96 (1968), 130-2, who argues that σοφία refers to the art of Pindar himself. Besides, it is not correct to say that ''the position of the passage at the end of the Homeric exegesis clearly marks it as a variation of the opening claim to correct the emphasis in the epic [v. 21]'' (Ruck-Matheson, 57), for the preceding words do not form the end of Pindar's version of the story of Rhodes. Young (86 n. 2) translates: ''If a man has learned knowledge, his native wisdom becomes greater also'' and takes this to mean ''the τέχνη given by Athena to the Heliadae augmented their native talent'' (cf. schol. τοῦτο δὲ λέγει ὡς τῶν Ῥοδίων εὐφυῶν μὲν ὄντων κατὰ φύσιν· προσδεξάμενοι δὲ καὶ τὴν τέχνην, οὕτως ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων, τῶν μαθήσεων καὶ τῶν φύσεων, ἐχορήγησαν τὰ μέγιστα). However, (1) ἄδολος sometimes means 'unmixed', 'natural', but this is not the same as 'native'; (2) according to Pindar, man gets his σοφία from the gods (*O.* 9, 28, *O.* 11, 10, *P.* 1, 43).

Br. (58 n. 35) calls the sense of my translation ''peu clair'', but he omits to mention my explanation. His own translation and interpretation (52-3), 'Même pour celui qui est compétent dans son domaine, ce n'est que pur de toute fraude que son talent atteint sa plénitude' (δαέντι meaning 'having acquired his technical competence by having the fire stolen by Prometheus at his disposal' and ἄδολος referring to Athena's gift as contrasted with that of the fraudulent Prometheus), are based on his erroneous view of 44 προμαθέος, but even apart from that, put a strain on the grammar (N.B. the position of καί) as well as on the reader's imagination.

[94] See als Von der Mühll, MH 20 (1963), 200 and n. 14 = *Ausgew. kl. Schr.*, 210 and n. 20.

[95] Rubin (72 n. 20) writes: ''Since the Telchines reputedly invoked envy, they would make a clever parallel for the prizewinning victor who so often stirred envy in his competitors'', a warning example of the ease with which 'parallels' may be found in Pindar's poetry.

54-5: παλαιαὶ ῥήσιες. Similarly *N.* 1, 34 ἀρχαῖον ὀτρύνων λόγον: cf. Illig, 20.

55: ῥήσιες. Wil. (368) writes: "Wir durchschauen, dass die hellenischen Ansiedler vor sich selbst rechtfertigten, dass sie den Sonnenkult von den früheren Bewohnern übernahmen". However, the attempts made to reconstruct a Ῥόδου Κτίσις which could have been used by Pindar[96], have produced mere hypotheses. This part of the story was probably invented by the poet himself (Young, 87)[97]. Smith (181) thinks that the addition of ἀνθρώπων implies "a reservation as to truth of the myth". But 21 διορθῶσαι shows that Pindar was firmly convinced of the truth of the myth. In order to mask the fact that he partly invented it he applies the same trick as Plato, viz. emphasizing its remote origin (cf. *Tim.* 21 a παλαιὸν ἀκηκοὼς λόγον οὐ νέου ἀνδρός)[98].

55: δατέοντο. Br. (18-21) argues that "dans cet épisode [55-61], l'ensemble de la procédure employée, ainsi que le détail du vocabulaire, font référence au partage fondateur d'une nouvelle cité" (18). But Pindar obviously had Homer's description of the division of the world (O 187 ff.) in mind, where the same or similar terms are found (189 δέδασται, 190 ἔλαχον, 191 παλλομένων), and these hardly reflect Greek procedures of colonization.

55: καί. There is no ellipse of 'other', for καί means 'and generally': cf. Hom. O 449 Ἕκτορι καὶ Τρώεσσι. See further my note on Men. *Epitr.* 70, Mnem. IV 27 (1974), 21, and the literature mentioned there. For τε καί used in this sense cf. de Vries on Pl. *Phdr.* 230 b 8 and my note on Hes. *Op.* 14.

56: ποντίῳ. Not pleonastic, for πέλαγος denotes the sea as a plain (cf. πέλανος 'flat cake'), πόντος as a place for traffic (cf. πάτος). Schenkeveld (private letter) compares fr. 140 b, 16 ἐν πόντου πελάγει. Cf. also Hom. Φ 59 πόντος ἁλός, A. *Pers.* 109-12 θαλάσσας ... πόντιον ἄλσος, E. *H.F.* 400 ποντίας ἁλός[99].

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[96] Cf. Von der Mühll, *art.cit.*, 197-202 = *Ausgew. kl. Schr.*, 205-12.

[97] I do not see why the fact that "Hélios passait pour être le seul Titan qui ait refusé de combattre contre Zeus" should prevent us from assuming that Pindar invented this part of the story (Vian). On the contrary, it seems to me to reinforce this assumption, for if Helios was such an exceptional figure in the traditional Titanomachy, Zeus was unlikely to forget him.

[98] Bern. (181 n. 59) observes that "è difficile supporre che Pindaro, parlando ad un pubblico che ben conosceva la propria storia, inventasse miti ad essa relativi" and concludes (181) that the phrase φαντὶ ... ῥήσιες is "un espediente retorico per dare di fronte all'ascoltatore maggiore credito all'esposizione". But this trick could work only if the prehistory of Rhodes was *not* well known to the audience.

[99] See further A. Lesky, *Thalatta* (Vienna 1947), 11 ff., V. Bers, *Enallage and Greek Style* (Leiden 1974), 13-4, 71.

58: ἀπεόντος. It is misleading to say that "en poesia se admite la falta del sujeto ('Αελίου) en el genitivo absoluto" (Gal.): the word order (see note on *O.* 12, 6a ἐλπίδες) allows us to take 'Αελίου as the subject both of ἀπεόντος and of λάχος.

Young (87 n. 3) says that the assumption of an eclipse "is improbable, but not impossible". It is especially improbable because in that case the absence of Helios would not have been a mischance (cf. *Pae.* 9, 1 'Ακτὶς ἀελίου, τί πολύσκοπε μήσεαι;)[100].

58: ἔνδειξεν. Properly 'marked out', scil. to belong to Helios (Farn.).

59: χώρας. Such genitives (cf. K.G.I, 401-2) are usually explained as separative or objective, but it is more natural to equate them to the genitive of reference (K.G.I, 363, 382, Schw. II, 132), which should rather be called a genitive of limitation because it limits an action or a quality to a special field. See also my notes on Men. *Epitr.* 78 and 195, Mnem. IV 27 (1974), 22 and 26, and E. *Ba.* 33 and 40, Mnem. IV 33 (1980), 8-9 and 10.

60: ἁγνόν. Not 'pure', as I assumed in Mnem. 1972, 250[101], but 'to whom (as an elementary power) awe is due': cf. *P.* 1, 21, S. *O.R.* 1425-8, and see further note on *O.* 3, 21 ἁγνάν. Cf. also Bern., 184 n. 63.

61: μνασθέντι. 'When he (Helios) mentioned it'. For the passive aorist cf. Hom. δ 118 and LSJ B II, Schw. I, 760-1.

61: ἄμπαλον. Not 'an undoing of the shaking of lots' (Wil., 368 n. 1, Schad.) but 'a new shaking of lots' (schol. ἀνακλήρωσιν). Farn. prefers to read ἄμ πάλον (similarly Gal.), but ἀνατίθημι never means 'to do over again'[102].

61: μέλλεν. For the prospective force of the imperfect cf. L. Basset, *Les emplois périphrastiques du verbe grec* μέλλειν (Lyon 1979), 178-80.

61: πολιᾶς. Not 'grey' but 'dull white' as contrasted with λευκός 'shining white': cf. G. Reiter, *Die griechischen Bezeichnungen der Farben Weiss, Grau und Braun* (Innsbruck 1962), 14-7, 54-63, espec. 59, where he points out that it often refers to broken water, whereas λευκός is characteristic

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[100] Fenn. assumes that "Helios made a mistake", but 61 suggests that the gods made a mistake by not noticing his absence. Br. (146 n. 8) suggests that the participle refers to the fact that Helios is absent during the night. But 55-6 οὔπω ... φανεράν shows that the distribution of the world took place in day-time. Fraccaroli (I, 289) wrongly assumes that the gods intentionally forgot Helios. His suggestion that this part of the story is an illustration of the maxim expressed in 53 ("v'è uno che conosce, ed è Elio ... v'è un'apparenza d'inganno ... per chi è prudente non v'è abilità che lo inganni") is a mere fabrication. The safest conclusion seems to be that Pindar purposely leaves the cause of Helios' absence unexplained, so that the whole incident gets the character of a mischance.

[101] Br. (146 n. 8) even thinks that "l'épithète vaut aussi pour la pureté morale du dieu".

[102] See also Bechtel, *Griech. Dialekte*, II, 71, K. Latte, Gnom. 9 (1933), 404.

of a calm sea (e.g. Hom. κ 94 λευκὴ δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ γαλήνη)[103]. In the present case the sea is 'broken' by the rising island.

61: θέμεν. The use of the aorist after μέλλω is not to be explained as 'momentan' (K.G.I, 179), but it denotes the action as such, irrespective of the perspective in which it might be seen by the subject: cf. W.F. Bakker, *The Greek Imperative* (Amsterdam 1966), ch. I[104].

For τίθημι with substantive equivalent to a verb see above on 42 θυσίαν θέμενοι.

62: αὐτός. Not to be connected with εἶπε (Dorns.) but with ὁρᾶν. The implication is: "You need not look out for something to be given to me: I see it coming myself".

62: ἔνδον θαλάσσας. Br. (62-3) refers to Hesiod's story of the birth of Aphrodite (*Th.* 188 ff.) and concludes: "Comme sa mère, donc, Rhodes est sortie des flots". But her origin from the sea is more likely to be connected with the fact that her 'real' mother was Amphitrite (see above, on 14 'Αφροδίτας).

62: αὐξομέναν. Has a vegetative connotation, for πεδόθεν seems to imply that the island has its roots in the sea-bottom. See also below, on 69 βλάστε. Pindar obviously alludes to ῥόδον 'rose' (cf. Barkhuizen, 96-7), but Norwood (141) goes too far in making this 'etymology' the centre of the poem. Young is equally wrong in connecting the image of a growing rose with the weather-imagery supposed by him to pervade the whole poem. He writes (88): "Here all the weather-imagery becomes clear and reaches a climax. What else could happen to a 'growing Rose' which has received two showers from above, first of snow, then of rain, when the Sun finally appears and is united with the 'Rose'? Naturally it sprouts". He admits that "such a use of imagery is bold, indeed, especially since it operates virtually independently of the historical sequence of the events which provide a vehicle for its expression". The term 'bold' seems to me a euphemism covering the weakness, or rather, the absurdity, of this interpretation: a poet who makes a thing which is still under water (ἔνδον θαλάσσας) undergo the influence of three events which took place much later in its development is not bold but muddle-headed. Pindar is completely clear about the facts: snow and rain have their own place in the history of the island and the role of Helios is distinguished into three

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[103] See also E. Irwin, *Colour Terms in Greek Poetry* (Toronto 1974), 167-8, Dürbeck (above, n. 81), 81 ff.

[104] See also G. L. Cooper, III, *Zur syntaktischen Theorie und Textkritik der attischen Autoren* (Zürich 1971), 123 ff. The considerations put forward by Basset (*op.cit.*, 95 ff.) seem to me unduly complicated. Cf. also the review of Basset's work by C. J. Ruijgh, Lingua 65 (1985), 323 ff., who argues (328-9) that the aorist infinitive after μέλλω has the temporal value of 'un jour imprévisible'.

phases: at the present moment he is only looking at (ὁρᾶν) the growing piece of land; he is beginning to shine after it has emerged from the water (69-70); and at some time afterwards (71 ποτε) he unites with the nymph.

62: πεδόθεν. Cf. Young, 88 n. 3: "only Helios πανόπτης, ὁ πάντα ὁρῶν, would have noticed anything growing beneath the sea".

63: πολύβοσκον. Cf. Hom. Λ 770 'Αχαιίδα πουλυβότειραν, λ 365 βόσκει γαῖα ... ἀνθρώπους.

63: μήλοις. 'Cattle': cf. Simon. 562, Aesch. fr. 158 N., 3-4, and Groeneboom on A. *Sept.* 43 ταυροσφαγοῦντες.

64: χρυσάμπυκα. See above, on 32 χρυσοκόμας.

64: μέν. For μὲν ... δέ referring not to single words but to whole clauses cf. *O.* 11, 8-10, *P.* 1, 21-2, Hom. P 193-4 (Ameis-Hentze wrongly think that "ὁ δέ nach ὁ μέν hebt die Identität des Subjekts bei korrespondierenden Handlungen hervor"), Denn. 371-2. In the present case δέ introduces a specification, in other cases it has connective, adversative, or consecutive, force (e.g. at Hes. *Th.* 84)[105].

64: Λάχεσιν. For the connection between Λάχεσιν and 58 λάχος cf. Barkhuizen, 44-5.

65: θεῶν. The gods swear by the Styx (Hom. O 37, ε 185, Hes. *Th.* 400, Hom. *H. Ap.* 83), which represents the underworld (cf. Hom. Θ 369 Heracles ὑπεξέφυγε Στυγὸς ὕδατος αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα)[106]. A god who pronounces this oath delivers himself to the underworld in case of perjury (cf. Hes. *Th.* 793 ff.).

66: παρφάμεν. 'Speak insincerely' (LSJ 2), properly 'to speak beside the real state of affairs' (Becker, 97). Similarly *N.* 5, 32.

67: αἰθέρα. This phrase and such passages as Emp. B 100, 5, Eur. *Ba.* 150 show that αἰθήρ may denote the air immediately above the surface of the earth. Ch. H. Kahn, *Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology* (New York 1960), 140 ff., convincingly shows that the difference between αἰθήρ and ἀήρ is not a difference of place (upper air—lower air) but of brightness.

67: κεφαλᾷ. 'Person': cf. *O.* 6, 60, Hom. Σ 81-2 τὸν ἐγὼ περὶ πάντων τῖον ἑταίρων, ἶσον ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ, LSJ I 2. The head could represent the whole person because it was thought to be the centre of vital power: cf. Onians, 95 ff., and my remarks in Lampas 3 (1970), 104-5.

68: ἐξοπίσω. The transition from 'behind' to 'in the future' is based on the fact that the Greeks generally imagined themselves to stand in the

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105 Cf. also G. R. McLennan, *Μέν and δέ Referring to the Same Persons*, Glotta 53 (1975), 76-8, who fails, however, to make the proper distinctions.

106 J. Bollack, REG 71 (1958), 1 ff., argues that the Styx originally was the chain of rocks encircling the world and as a ἕρκος became a ὅρκος.

course of events their faces directed towards the past: cf. van Groningen, *In the Grip of the Past* (above, n. 57). Similarly ὄπισθεν, κατόπισθεν, μετόπισθεν. See further my note on Hes. *Op.* 284.

68: γέρας. Br. (23) maintains that this should be interpreted "dans la perspective des héros homériques": "C'est donc par sa valeur propre qu'Hélios mérite Rhodes. Il prouve sa supériorité sur les autres dieux, puisque ces derniers n'ont pas vu l'île"[107]. But Helios need not prove his superiority: he has a right to some privileged property just as the other members of the Olympian pantheon (cf. Hes. *Th.* 395-6 τὸν δ' ἔφαθ' [Zeus] ὅστις ἄτιμος ὑπὸ Κρόνου ἠδ' ἀγέραστος/τιμῆς καὶ γεράων ἐπιβησέμεν, ἣ θέμις ἐστίν).

Rubin (78) suggests that Helios "in his need for a portion of land and a bride stands in a parallel relationship to the athlete deserving to be honoured in song", arguing that "by using *geras* to depict Helius' bride-prize Pindar aligns Helius with athletic winners". I can only repeat that such ideas are fancies superposed on a text which neither needs nor deserves them.

68: τελεύτασαν. This (the original reading of the MSS.) is to be preferred (as is done by Le.) to τελεύταθεν: cf. E. *Ba.* 907-8 ἐλπίδες ... τελευτῶσιν. Similarly τελέω is used intransitively (LSJ I 8). For τελευτάω 'to be fulfilled' cf. E. *Ba.* 908 ἐλπίδες ... τελευτῶσιν.

68: κορυφαί. Not 'the high words' (Bo.)[108] but 'le point où ils culminent, leur sens essentiel' (Pu.; similarly Fenn., Gild. *et al.*): cf. *P.* 3, 80 λόγων κορυφὰν ὀρθάν 'the true and essential meaning', *Pae.* VIIIa, 13, Emp. B 24, and κορυφόω 'to sum up' in later Greek (LSJ III). It is obviously wrong to ask: "Are we to suppose that Zeus, Lachesis, and Helios blundered about details?" (Norwood, 140): Pindar pretends to report an oral tradition the details of which do not matter[109].

69: ἐν ἀλαθείᾳ. The translation 'in das Wahre gefallen' (Dorns.; similarly Schad., Conw.) presupposes the idea elaborated by Norwood (140, 144-5) that πετοῖσαι refers to sowing and that ἀλάθεια is the soil receiving the seed. But if the participle is taken to allude to dice-playing (see next note), ἐν ἀλαθείᾳ must have adverbial force: cf. *O.* 2, 16 ἐν δίκᾳ, S. *O.R.* 765 ἐν τάχει, LSJ A II 3. On the other hand, 'truly' would be otiose, whether taken with τελεύτασαν or with πετοῖσαι. It should be remembered that ἀλήθεια can have the sense of 'reality' (e.g. at Thuc. II

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[107] He even concludes (25) that "le mythe porte donc la marque de la domination exercée par les aristocrates dans la *polis*, tout particulièrement dans les cités doriennes".

[108] Similarly Conw. 'the great words', Norwood (140) 'crowning', 'supreme', explained (144) as "the gods' converse reaches perfection as a plant reaches full efflorescence" (!).

[109] Br. (138) seems to me wrong in taking λόγων to refer to Helios' words only.

41, 2, where ἔργων ἀλήθεια is contrasted with λόγων κόμπος)[110] and even of 'realization': cf. Hdt. III 64, 1 ἡ ἀληθείη τοῦ ἐνυπνίου. If the latter use is assumed here, ἐν ἀλαθείᾳ πετοῖσαι means 'being realized'. Norwood (140) objects that this is tautologous after τελεύτασαν, but it rather serves to determine the meaning of that verb.

Smith (182) argues that ἐν ἀλαθείᾳ contains a reference to 45 λάθας and that the poet "ironically ascribes the error [of the gods] to the same cause that operates on the human plane". But Pindar does not represent the initial event as an error of the gods but as a mischance of Helios (58 ἀπεόντος).

69: πετοῖσαι. Cf. *O.* 12, 10 παρὰ γνώμαν ἔπεσεν, Hdt. VII 163 καραδοκήσαντα τὴν μάχην τῇ πεσέεται, and εὖ πίπτειν 'turn out well' (LSJ V 2). That the image is derived from dice-playing appears from A. *Suppl.* 90-1 πίπτει δ' ἀσφαλὲς οὐδ' ἐπὶ νώτῳ (cf. Pollux 7, 204 ὑπτιάζων βόλος for an unlucky cast), *Ag* 32-3 εὖ πεσόντα ... τρὶς ἓξ βαλούσης, and S. fr. 895 P. ἀεὶ γὰρ εὖ πίπτουσιν οἱ Διὸς κύβοι.

69: βλάστε. Like a rose (see above, on 62 αὐξομέναν), but it should be added that the verb is also used in the general sense of 'to be born', 'to originate' (even of non-living beings) (LSJ I 2)[111].

69: ὑγρᾶς. For the pleonasm cf *P.* 4, 40 ὑγρῷ πελάγει, Hom. δ 458 ὑγρὸν ὕδωρ, A. *Suppl.* 259 ὑγρᾶς θαλάσσης (see further Friis Johansen-Whittle *ad loc.*)[112].

70: ἔχει. 'Has under his care', often said of tutelary gods and heroes (e.g. Thuc. II 74, 2, Xen. *Cyr.* VIII 3, 24).

70: τε. Introduces the completion of the narrative: cf. *P.* 1, 54, and Gonda, *op. cit.* (above on 12 μέν), 198.

70: ὀξειᾶν. See my note on *O.* 3, 24 ὀξείαις.

71: μιχθείς. Young (89) suggests that there is some connection with the marriage described at the beginning of the poem. Similarly Ruck-Matheson, 55: "The wedding banquet is, of course, suggestive of the marriage of the Sun and Rhodes", Smith, 174: "the wedding motif". This view is a clear example of 'hyper-interpretation': see above, on 42 θυσίαν.

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[110] See further LSJ I 2 and my note on *I.* 2, 10, Mnem. IV 34 (1982), 9, and my remarks *ibid.*, 156-7.

[111] Rubin (78-9) uses the organic connotation of βλάστε and of καρπόν (8) as an argument supporting the assumption of an analogy between the island and the victory ode, other arguments being the use of πέμπω at 8 and 67, etc. After my critical remarks in the preceding notes it seems superfluous to discuss this view in detail.

[112] Norwood (141) argues that ἁλός means 'salt' and that Pindar "inserts ὑγρᾶς precisely to prevent us from taking ἅλς as 'sea' ... Pindar's Rose is no plant of every day: it grows in his quickening imagination to a symbol of our life, of sorrow turned into joy, of a miraculous burgeoning from a spot without fertility or sunlight into final radiance". The 'quickening imagination' here, as so often, is Norwood's, not Pindar's.

71: **τέκεν.** Of the father: Hom. N 450, γ 489, etc.

72: **σοφώτατα.** Not 'wise' (Fenn., Dorns. *et al.*), 'thoughtful' (Conw.), 'shrewd' (Latt.), but 'skilful' (Le. 'dotati dei pensieri più destri'), 'competent', scil. as rulers of their cities and as artists: see above, on 53 σοφία and 54 δέ, and note on *O.* 3, 44 σοφοῖς.

73: **ἐπί.** 'At the time of' (Hom. E 637 ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνθρώπων, LSJ A II 1), 'among', to be connected with σοφώτατα.

73: **προτέρων.** 'Of old': see my note on *O.* 3, 11 προτέρας.

73: **παραδεξαμένους.** Scil. from him.

74: **πρεσβύτατον.** The eldest child is the best: cf. Hom. B 707 etc. πρότερος καὶ ἀρείων, and my note on Hes. *Op.* 17. Pindar sets Ialysus off because Diagoras came from the town of Ialysus: cf. Wil., 362, P. Von der Mühll, MH 20 (1963), 201 and n. 21 = *Ausgew. kl. Schr.*, 211 and n. 27.

74: **ἀπάτερθε.** 'Apart', 'each for himself': cf. Hom. B 587 ἀπάτερθε δὲ θωρήσσοντο, Schw. II, 537. Bern. (185) thinks that the story of the tripartition of the island "poteva risultare un elemento propagandistico che giocava a favore della politica degli Eratidi", who were "i principali sostenitori dell'unione politica delle tre città" (similarly Br., 156-7: see below, on 87 Ἀταβυρίου). But in that case Pindar would not have emphasized the separateness of the three towns.

75: **τρίχα.** The tripartition of Rhodes is prefigured in Homer (B 655, 668), but Pindar accentuates it (see preceding note) in order to focus attention on the independence of Ialysus, the native town of Diagoras (cf. also Br., 30-1).

76: **ἀστέων μοῖραν.** 'Their share in the (available) cities'. Sn. M., Gal., We., Schad. read μοίρας, but the subject of ἔχον is equivalent to ἕκαστος. A plural is often followed by a (collective) singular, and conversely: cf. Hom. H 175 οἱ δὲ κλῆρον ἐσημήναντο ἕκαστος, K.G. I, 86-7, 286-7, and Verdenius-Waszink on Arist. *GC* 322 a 19.

76: **σφιν.** 'In their honour', hence 'by their names': cf. δέχομαί τί τινι = ἀπό τινος (K.G. I, 419).

76: **ἕδραι.** 'Dwelling-places', 'towns'. Similarly *O.* 14, 2, *P.* 11, 63.

77: **τόθι.** Refers back to 34: cf. Illig, 58.

77: **λύτρον.** 'Compensation'. Cf. *I.* 8, 1: the song of praise is λύτρον καμάτων, *P.* 5, 106 λυτήριον δαπανᾶν and λύω 'undo, bring to naught' (LSJ II 4) and 'make up for' (LSJ IV).

Gild. suggests that the implication is: should Diagoras ever have bad luck, it will take a turn for the better, but the text does not contain any hint in this direction (cf. v. Groningen, 353-4, Young, 100 and n. 3). Me. (447) argues that Diagoras "erscheint als das letzte Glied in der Reihe der um ihrer Frömmigkeit willen so hochbegnadigten Ahnen",

but Pindar does not emphasize the connection between the Eratidae (93) and the Heraclidae, nor does he connect the good fortune of the Heliadae and Tlepolemus with their piety. It is true that a myth sometimes has a paradigmatic function (cf. Gund., 48-9), but in the present case it simply serves to glorify the victor's native country: cf. v. Groningen, 355-6, and see above, on 21 διορθῶσαι.

77: συμφορᾶς. Young (90) maintains that "the word probably refers specifically to Tlepolemos' exile and generally to the whole of his misfortune", but the term is a common euphemism for 'murder' or 'offence' (e.g. Hdt. I 35, 1, III 50, 1, S. *O.R.* 99, 833, Pl. *Leg.* 854 d). Young further argues that there is a parallel between the misfortune of Tlepolemus and the "grueling boxing match", but the latter could hardly be called a συμφορά.

77: Τλαπολέμῳ. Me. (445) observes that Tlepolemus is mentioned by name only twice, at the beginning (20) and at the end of the myth, both times at the end of the first line of a strophe, and that similarly τρίπολιν (18) corresponds to τρίχα (75). It should be added, however, that such formal correspondences have an incidental character and are far from establishing an organic unity of the whole poem.

78: ἵσταται. Gild. rightly: "Not historical present. The offering is still kept up" (games in honour of Tlepolemus took place as late as the second cent. B.C.: *Syll.* 1067). For the present denoting a lasting effect cf. K.G. I., 135-7, Schw. II, 273-4.

79: θεῷ. Fenn. observes that "the deification of founders of colonies lasted until after Miltiades' death" (cf. Hdt. VI 38, 1)[113]. The use of θεός does not necessarily imply that the offerings to Tlepolemus were not completely burnt (as is assumed by H. von Geisau, *KP* II, 1105), for θεός means 'divine being', which comprises both gods and heroes[114]: for instance, Pindar calls Heracles ἥρως θεός (*N.* 3, 22).

80: κνισάεσσα. 'Von Vieh ein fettdampfender Zug' (Dorns.; similarly Bo., Schad., Latt., Ruck-Matheson) is impossible. Farn. has 'a procession of sheep for burnt-sacrifice' (similarly Fenn., Gal., Slater), but such a proleptic use is unparalleled, and Nis.'s 'sheep are sacrificed' is too flat. The most natural translation is 'a procession of fat cattle' (cf. Pu. 'viennent en procession les grasses victimes'): for κνῖσα 'fat' cf. LSJ II, and for the enallage cf. Bers, *Enallage* (above, n. 99), 45 ff. (who does not, however, discuss the present passage).

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[113] See further C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte* (²Munich 1970), H. S. Versnel, *Heersercultus in Griekenland*, Lampas 7 (1974), 129-63, espec. 144 ff.

[114] This seems to me a more correct formulation than Farn.'s note, "the distinction between the ἥρως and the θεός was sometimes blurred".

80: κρίσις. Not 'decision', for (1) in that case we should expect περί, not ἀμφί, and (2) Tlepolemus does not act as an umpire, but 'trial' (Bo.): see my note on *O.* 3, 21 κρίσιν.

80: ἀμφί. 'With regard to', 'in': cf. *I.* 1, 50 ὃς δ' ἀμφ' ἀέθλοις ἢ πολεμίζων ἄρηται κῦδος, *I.* 5, 55, *N.* 2, 17, Rumpel B 3, Slater III 3, Hdt. VI 129, 2 ἔριν εἶχον ἀμφὶ μουσικῇ.

80: ἀέθλοις. For the Τλαπολέμεια in Rhodes cf. Defradas, 48, Bern., 187 and n. 72.

81: ἐστεφανώσατο. See above, on 15 στεφανωσάμενον.

81: εὐτυχέων. Not scil. ἐστεφανώσατο, but the participle is used instead of the finite verb for the sake of variation: cf. Bowra, 207; for the asymmetry see also note on *O.* 3, 18 στέφανόν τε. Gal. plausibly suggests that the present participle has perfective force on the analogy of νικάω. Similarly Hdt. I 65, 1 εὐτυχέοντες.

82: Νεμέᾳ. Mentioned after the Isthmian games because the latter were considered more important.

82: ἄλλαν. Not scil. νίκαν (Gild.) but εὐτυχίαν, to be supplied from εὐτυχέων. Cf. *O.* 1, 109-10 γλυκυτέραν (scil.* κλέϊξιν) ... κλεΐξειν, *N.* 6, 20 τρεῖς (scil. στεφανώσεις) στεφανωσάμενος. Wilamowitz in his note on E. *H.F.* 681 rightly argues that in such phrases as Pl. *Euthyd.* 273 b 4 ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην ἀποβλέποντε we should not supply ὁδόν, but his explanation, that the feminine accusative of an adjective can be used "für unbestimmte Abstracta" is misleading, and Fraenkel's conclusion in his note on A.*Ag.* 916 μακρὰν ἐξέτεινας, "There is no noun to be supplied with μακράν", is still more misleading: even when there does not exist a noun corresponding with the verb, we should supply the corresponding notion as an internal accusative.

82: ἐπ' ἄλλᾳ. I.e., 'twice', probably in succession (schol.).

82: καί. Fenn. wrongly thinks that ἄλλαν ἐπ' ἄλλᾳ also belongs to 'Αθάναις. For τε ... τε ... καί cf. K.G. II, 251.

82: κρανααῖς. A common epithet of Athens: cf. LSJ 1.

82: 'Αθάναις. For the games held in Athens and the other places mentioned at 82-6 cf. Bern., 188 n. 74.

83: χαλκός. A bronze shield as the prize.

83: ἔγνω νιν. Cf. *O.* 6, 96-7 ἀδύλογοι δέ νιν | λύραι μολπαί τε γινώσκοντι. See further above, on 17 Δίκᾳ, and J. Péron, Rev. Phil. 50 (1976), 65-6, who shows that 'being a witness of' is a recurrent motif in Pindar.

84: ἔργα. Not 'sporting achievements' (Péron, *art.cit.*, 68) but 'works of art' (cf. *O.* 13, 37), *i.e.* tripods.

84: ἔννομοι. Not 'traditional' but 'fixed in the calendar and regulated by law' (Farn.)[115]. Cf. *I.* 2, 38 ἱπποτροφίας τε νομίζων ἐν Πανελλάνων νόμῳ

[115] Which does not imply, however, that they were 'temperate' (Latt.).

(Pu.: 'pour se conformer aux règles des fêtes panhelléniques'), *N.* 10, 28 ἐν 'Αδραστείῳ νόμῳ. The regular contests are implicitly contrasted with games incidentally held.

86: Πέλλανα. For the games at Pellene cf. *O.* 9, 98, *O.* 13, 109, *N.* 10, 44. For the Aeolic shortening of the final α cf. Gild., LXXXII.

86: Αἴγινα. Scil. ἔγνω νιν. Gild. points out that the reading Αἰγίνᾳ (Tur., Gal., We., Sn.M., Le.) makes νικῶντα impossible to construe. For the choriambus instead of an epitrite see note on *O.* 3, 35 βαθυζώνου.

86: Μεγάροισίν τε. For the position of τε cf. Slater, 491, Denn., 516-7.

87: ψᾶφος. List (properly 'account') of victors on a stele.

87: λόγον. Not 'tells another tale' (as the common translation runs), for which there is no parallel, but 'enumeration' (Wil., 365 n. 4, Le. 'conto') or (rather) 'number' (LSJ I 1a).

87-95. N. F. Rubin, Hermes 108 (1980), 248-52, argues that this passage is reminiscent of the opening simile, but the parallels which she adduces (e.g. χάριν at 5 and 89) are so vague that they do not have any conclusive force.

87: νώτοισιν. For the local dative instead of the genitive cf. Hes. *Th.* 54 γουνοῖσιν 'Ελευθῆρος μεδέουσα.

87: 'Αταβυρίου. The highest peak of the Rhodian mountain range. For the name cf. Farn. and Thummer, *Religiosität*, 21 and n. 1. Br. (156-7) plausibly suggests that the pan-Rhodian cult of Zeus on this mountain attested in later times existed as early as the 5th cent., but his conclusion that it is mentioned by Pindar in support of the pan-Rhodian policy of the Eratidae is utterly unfounded. He attaches much weight to the fact that the mountain is nearer Camirus and Lindus than Ialysus, the town of the Eratidae, but seems to forget that the place of the cult was obviously chosen for geographical, not for political, reasons. See also above, on 74 ἀπάτερθε.

88: μὲν ... τε. See above on 12.

88: τίμα. Not 'nimm zu Ehren an' (Me.), but 'make great' (Le.: 'accresci'). Cf. Hom. B 4, O 612, γ 379.

88: τεθμόν. Not 'my song, which sings the rite due to Olympia's victor' (Conw.) but 'cet hymne, dû, selon le rite, au vainqueur olympique' (Pu.)[116]. Cf. *O.* 13, 29 στεφάνων ἐγκώμιον τεθμόν, *O.* 6, 69 τεθμὸν μέγιστον ἀέθλων. The meaning of τεθμὸς ὕμνου = ὕμνος τέθμιος is to be explained from the fact that θεσμός is not only 'institution' but also 'thing instituted' (cf. *N.* 10, 33 'Ηρακλέος τεθμόν, *O.* 13, 40 Ποτειδᾶνος τεθμοῖσιν for the

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[116] Similarly Bowra, 196: 'a hymn, rightfully made, of Olympian victory'. This is better than his Penguin-translation, 'the rite of Olympian victory'.

Olympian and Isthmian games), 'thing performed according to a fixed rule' (cf. A. *Suppl.* 1034 θεσμὸς ὅδ' εὔφρων 'this propitiating cult song', *Ag.* 304 θεσμὸν πυρός 'the pre-arranged fire-signal'). The genitives ὕμνου etc. have explanatory force.

Pindar is strongly conscious of the fact that his profession is subject to strict rules: cf. *I.* 6, 20 τέθμιόν μοι φαμὶ σαφέστατον ἔμμεν, *N.* 4, 33 τὰ μακρὰ δ' ἐξενέπειν ἐρύκει με τεθμός. See further Gund., 65, Bowra, 196.

88: Ὀλυμπιονίκαν. 'Referring to an Olympian victory': see my note on *O.* 3, 3 Ὀλυμπιονίκαν.

89: ἀρετάν. Not 'a character for bravery' (Fenn.) or synonymous with ἀρετᾶς κλέος (Gild.) but 'success': see above on 43.

89: εὑρόντα. Gild. observes that "one might expect εὑρόμενον", but we often find νίκην φέρειν, μισθὸν φέρειν (K.G. I, 110, Schw. II, 234). See also note on *O.* 3, 25 πορεύεν. Similarly *P.* 2, 64 δόξαν εὑρεῖν.

89: δίδοι τέ οἱ αἰδοίαν. For the parechesis cf. Fenn., XXIV.

89: δίδοι. Imperative formed on the analogy of the indicative δίδοις (K. Strunk, Glotta 39, 1960, 114 ff.) rather than on that of the optative (Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften* I, 704 ff.). See further Gerber on *O.* 1, 85.

89: αἰδοίαν χάριν. Not 'ehrfurchtgebietenden Glanz' (Dorns.; similarly Schad. 'achtunggebietende Holdheit') or 'the pleasure of veneration' (Latt., Young, 93; similarly Bo., Conw.)[117] but 'respectful favour' (Farn. *et al.*). Similarly *O.* 13, 115 Ζεῦ τέλει', αἰδῶ δίδοι (often wrongly translated by 'modesty'). See further above, on 44 αἰδώς.

90: ἀστῶν ... ξείνων. A circumlocution for 'everybody': cf. *O.* 13, 2-3, *P.* 3, 71. See further my note on *O.* 3, 45 κἀσόφοις.

90: ὕβριος. An objective genitive, the object depending on the verbal idea implied in ἐχθρός: cf. A. *Ag.* 1156 γάμοι Πάριδος ὀλέθριοι φίλων, K.G. I, 371[118]. For the idea cf. *P.* 4, 284 ἔμαθε δ' ὑβρίζοντα μισεῖν, *I.* 3-4, 26-7 ὀρφανοὶ ὕβριος[119], and for the negative way of expression cf. W. H. Race, TAPA 113 (1983), 95 ff., espec. 111.

90: ὁδόν. For ὁδός as a way of life cf. *O.* 6, 73, *N.* 8, 35-6, Becker, 50 ff., Bowra, 252.

Smith (183) calls ὁδόν "a reference to ὁδός 1.46". Similarly Vian argues that "ὁδὸν εὐθυπορεῖ et ὀρθαὶ φρένες (90-91) font écho à ὀρθὰν ὁδόν (46), cependant qu'il y a antithèse entre εὐθυπορεῖ et παρέλκει (46: cf. 31 παρέπλαγξαν), de même qu'entre ἅτε ... ὀρθαὶ φρένες ... ἔχρεον et ἔξω

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[117] Nis.'s 'affectionate regard' strikes a wrong note. Ruck-Matheson's 'temper the grace you grant' is quite impossible.

[118] Thummer (*Religiosität*, 75 n. 1) wrongly thinks that Pindar contaminates two ideas: "Er schreitet gerade und wandelt nicht auf dem verhassten Weg der Vermessenheit".

[119] I fail to see how the corrected version of the myth might help Diagoras to avoid ὕβρις, as is suggested by Br., 168.

φρενῶν (47)''. But when we see such images as 'way' and 'straight' to reappear in many other poems, we have to do with stereotyped expressions, not with 'echoes'.

91: εὐθυπορεῖ. Cf. *N.* 1, 25 χρὴ δ' ἐν εὐθείαις ὁδοῖς στείχοντα μάρνασθαι φυᾷ, *N.* 2, 7, *N.* 10, 12, fr. 108, Becker, 65-6, 88 ff. See also above, on 33 εὐθύν.

91: σάφα. 'For certain': cf. Hom. E 177 σάφα δ' οὐκ οἶδα. For σαφής 'reliable' cf. W. Luther, *Wahrheit und Lüge im ältesten Griechentum* (Borna-Leipzig 1935), 61 ff. See also my notes on Men. *Epitr.* 25, Mnem. IV 27 (1974), 19, A. *Pr.* 641, in *Miscellanea ... Kamerbeek*, 465, Pind. *N.* 11, 43, ICS 7, 1 (1982), 34.

91: ἅ τε. Cf. Ruijgh, 986-7, who concludes that ''l'emploi de ὅστε chez Pindare répond à l'usage homérique''. In the present passage τε seems to have been added merely for metrical reasons.

91: πατέρων. To be connected with ἀγαθῶν. Cf. *P.* 8, 44-5 φυᾷ τὸ γενναῖον ἐπιπρέπει | ἐκ πατέρων παισὶ λῆμα. For the *topos* of praising the victor's ancestors cf. Thummer, 49 ff.

91: ὀρθαί. Cf. *O.* 8, 24 ὀρθᾷ διακρῖναι φρενί, *P.* 10, 68 νόος ὀρθός. The translation 'upright' (Farn., Latt., Dorns., Slater) is misleading, for the meaning is not 'sincere' (Bo.: 'a true heart', Slater: 'correct') but 'firm', 'sound' (cf. LSJ III 1).

91: φρένες. Scil. of Diagoras (Thummer, 76: 'sein von edlen Ahnen ererbter gerader Sinn'), not of his ancestors (most translators), for in that case we should not expect ἐξ[120].

92: ἔχρεον. Not 'left, his heritage' (Latt.; similarly Conw.) but 'proclaimed', as if it were an oracle. Br. (169) objects that 'on voit mal comment les ancêtres de Diagoras pourraient avoir un quelconque rôle oraculaire'', but in Pindar's eyes the tradition of a noble family is determined by a divine power, its Πότμος συγγενής (*I.* 1, 39-40), so that the examples held up by its ancestors have a quasi-sacral character. Br. thinks that the φρένες are Pindar's, but this is disproved by the context, and expecially by the collocation of οἱ πατέρων.

Bern. (180) argues that this sentence recalls (''richiamano'') the advice given by Helios to his sons, but the parallel looses its significance when it is observed that the Heliadae forgot part of their father's instructions (viz. to bring fire), whereas Diagoras strictly followed them (σάφα δαείς).

92: μὴ κρύπτε. 'Do not make obscure', addressed not to Diagoras (Latt., Conw., Schad.) but to Zeus as the god who ἀρετὴν ἄνδρεσσιν ὀφέλλει τε μινύθει τε (Hom. Υ 242) and who ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ

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[120] Gal. (followed by Bern., 190 n. 79) thinks that ἐξ belongs to ἔχρεον. He compares S. *O.C.* 87, but there the verb refers to a real oracle.

ἄδηλον ἀέξει (Hes. *Op*. 6). Pindar likes to interpret things by means of the contrast 'visible-obscure' (cf. Gund., 13-4, 46-7).

The asyndeton has consecutive force (see my note on *O*. 3, 24 τούτων): Diagoras maintains the moral principles of his race; therefore this race deserves the continuation of Zeus' favour.

92: **κοινόν.** Neglected by We., Ruck-Matheson, Conw., Nis. The word does not mean 'in whom all take interest' (Fenn., who thinks this to be amplified by the next sentence) or 'allbekannt' (Me., who refers to the schol. διάδηλον τοῖς πολλοῖς; cf. Thummer, *Religiosität*, 76: 'weltberühmt') but refers to the unity of the family maintained throughout its history (cf. Slater: 'which his descendants have in common' and LSJ A IV 1).

93: **σπέρμα.** This is connected by Young (95) with the 'floral imagery' of the poem: he assumes a parallel between the growth of the island and the growth of Diagoras' family. But the point of the sentence is not the growth of the family but the continuity of its tradition.

93: **Καλλιάνακτος.** A famous ancestor of Diagoras. Vian thinks that "Callianax doit être le gendre et non un ancêtre de Diagoras; cf. J. Pouilloux, Rev. Phil. 44, 1970, 206-214". Pouilloux suggests that the victory of Diagoras coincided with the marriage of his daughter Callipateira to Callianax (cf. Paus. VI 7, 2), that μὴ κρύπτε κτλ. forms a blessing for their future offspring, and that the beginning of the poem alludes to this marriage (similarly Bern., 190 n. 80). But this view makes the sentence a kind of appendix and leaves the asyndeton unexplained[121].

93: **τοι.** In my commentary of 1972 I took this to be an ethical dative referring to Zeus, but I now think it more likely to direct the god's attention to the fact that at the moment Diagoras stands high in his fellow-citizens' favour (cf. 89-90), but that popularity is a precarious thing (94-5), so that he will need the further protection of Zeus[122]. For this use of τοι cf. Denn., 542 (9). In the present context it has explanatory (motivating) force: cf. Denn., 542-3.

93: **σύν.** 'In accordance with'. Cf. *P*. 9, 96 σύν τε δίκᾳ καλὰ ῥέζοντα, LSJ A 6.

93: **χαρίτεσσιν.** Not 'en l'honneur des Ératides' (Pu., Conw.) or 'avec les Charites (amies) des Ératides' (Duchemin, 65) but 'the joys of

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[121] This seems to me a more cogent objection than the chronological argument put forward by me in 1976 (cf. Bern., *loc.cit.*, Br., 173 n. 33).

[122] Thummer (*Religiosität*, 76) takes τοι to be addressed to Diagoras' fellow-citizens, but his paraphrase, "Freilich ... sollen auch die Menschen, von denen die Ehrfurcht erwartet wird, bedenken, dass man aus der Beobachtung eines kleinen Zeitabschnittes aus der Geschichte eines Geschlechts nicht ein Urteil über sein Glück, seine Nähe oder Ferne zu Gott fällen darf", is impossible as a conclusion of the poem (see below, on 95 αὖραι).

victory' (Le.): cf. *O.* 8, 57, *P.* 5, 102, and see below, p. 106 and n. 12.

94: θαλίας. This is said by Young (97) to imply that "Diagoras has given Rhodes new growth" (cf. 101: the festivities "are essentially like blossoms or shoots in Diagoras' life and that of his city"). But Pindar never stresses the connection of θαλία with θάλλω[123].

94: πόλις. The fact that the whole town rejoices in the victory adds to the victor's fame and, indirectly, to the fame of the town itself (cf. note on *O.* 3, 2)[124]. See also above, n. 43.

94-5. For the gnomic conclusion see note on *O.* 3, 44-5.

94: μιᾷ. 'One and the same': cf. *O.* 13, 37 ἁλίῳ ἀμφ' ἐνί, Hom. Γ 238 τώ μοι μία γείνατο μήτηρ, Slater, c., LSJ 2 a.

94: μοίρᾳ χρόνου. Fenn. argues that this "cannot mean 'point of time', as ἄλλοτε subdivides it". Accordingly, Young (97-8) takes the phrase to mean 'within a human life', and Péron (204) 'une période déterminée du temps de nos vies' (similarly Farn., Conw., Nis., Bern., 190-1 n. 81). But this would be acceptable only if μοῖρα χρόνου had a fixed duration. Pindar wants to suggest that the changes of fortune overtake us because an adverse wind starts blowing while a favourable one still seems to reign.

95: ἄλλοτ' ἀλλοῖαι. See above, on 11 ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλον. Krause (mentioned there), 119, thinks that "so können wir in dieser Akzentuierung der warnenden Komponente des ἄλλοτε ἀλλοῖος, die in früher entstandenen Oden kaum zu finden war, eine Entwicklung feststellen. In den früheren Oden war der Gedanke des Schicksalswechsels meist in tröstlichem, später wird er öfter in warnendem Sinn gebraucht" (she refers to *I.* 1 and 7, *N.* 7 and *P.* 8). I do not believe, however, that the phrase implies a change in Pindar's mood[125], for it has a special function within the context of this poem: (1) it serves to counterbalance the optimistic tendency of the myth (Fenn., Wil., 365)[126], and (2), more importantly, it indirectly incites Zeus to continue favouring Diagoras (similarly Bern., 191-2): see above, on 93 τοι.

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[123] Carne-Ross (188-9) writes: "a Greek ear must have heard in *thalias* the verb *thallo*, 'flourish, blossom' ... the whole city is blossoming" (similarly Rubin, 75), but this is an arbitrary interpretation.

[124] Wil. (362) seems to me wrong in maintaining: "es ist auch sehr wenig damit gesagt, dass die ganze Stadt an dem Feste der Eratiden Teil hat". For public festivals celebrated after a victory at the Games W. J. Slater, in D. E. Gerber (ed.), *Greek Poetry and Philosophy: Studies in Honour of L. Woodbury* (Chico 1984), 245 n. 25, compares Bacch. 11, 10-2. He is wrong, however, in referring to *O.* 3, 34 ἑορτάν: see note *ad loc.*

[125] For the problem of Pindar's development see also G. J. de Vries, *Pindar's Mood*, Mnem. IV 10 (1957), 8-15.

[126] Péron (206) goes too far in concluding that "c'est la métaphore finale qui modifie l'esprit des évocations antérieures et en assombrit le climat, en les plaçant sous le signe de l'éphémère". Thummer (70 n. 44) is equally wrong in maintaining that the last

95: διαιθύσσοισιν. 'Move quickly in different directions': for Pindar's tendency to interpret things in terms of light[127] see above, on 92 μὴ κρύπτε.

95: αὖραι. The same imagery occurs at *P.* 3, 104-5 and *I.* 3-4, 23-4. See further Bowra, 250-1, Péron, 189 ff. ('Le vent inconstant'), espec. 203, where he observes that "αὔρα désigne au propre les souffles variables de la brise, mais parfois aussi un vent vif, voire violent ... Le terme ... exprime l'idée d'un destin dont les souffles contraires se font sentir avec force"[128].

Young (98 ff.; similarly Lawall, 44, Péron, 206) is wrong in connecting this phrase with the meteorological phenomena mentioned in the first part of the poem; he even concludes that "his [Pindar's] denial of human prescience is designed primarily as a means not to disparage man, but to magnify nature" (99; cf. 101: Pindar puts Diagoras and his family "squarely within the system of nature"). This is a projection of modern ideas not supported by anything in the text.

Smith (183-4) observes that between the glorification of the victor and the reminder of a possible shift of fortune there is "a clear gap, a conflict of different attitudes. This is to me the main effect of the poem, the impossibility of bridging the gap, of coming to terms with the irrationality inherent in the world". This is a typically modern reaction. For Pindar there was no gap and no irrationality, because all vicissitude comes from the gods: (θεὸς) καὶ ὑψιφρόνων τιν' ἔκαμψε βροτῶν,/ἑτέροισι δὲ κῦδος ἀγήραον παρέδωκε (*P.* 2, 51-2)[129].

The final words do not have a political implication, as is assumed by Me. (447): "Die Herrschaft der Eratiden und die dorisch-aristokratische Verfassung der Insel ... waren schwer bedroht durch die Athener und die ihnen dienenden Demagogen" (similarly Dorns., Gal., Bowra, 146-7, 302, We., Thummer, *Religiosität*, 62-3, 76): Farn. rightly observes that "if at this time there were political dangers threatening this aristocratic house, it would be in the worst taste in Pindar to allude to them here"[130]. Cf. also Péron, 204-5, Bern., 186, 191 n. 82.

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sentence of the poem "soll das Glück aus dem Hintergrund des Unglücks besonders deutlich hervortreten lassen".

[127] W. B. Stanford, *Ambiguity in Greek Literature* (Oxford 1939), 132-6, shows that αἰθύσσω usually implies the idea of flickering.

[128] Cf. also D. van Nes, *Die maritime Bildersprache des Aischylos* (Groningen 1963), 7 ff.

[129] Cf. Strohm, 56: "antithetische Züge sind von seinem Weltbild fernzuhalten, das vielmehr von dem Glauben an eine Harmonie, an ein Gefügtsein des Sterblichen ins Übermenschliche lebt".

[130] Me. thinks that Pindar addresses himself to the people: "das Volk warnt er vor voreiligen Beschlüssen mit dem Hinweis auf die Unbeständigkeit des Glücks; was sie jetzt haben, das wissen sie: Siegesfeste auf Siegesfeste" (similarly Norwood, 142). Such an intention would be very bad taste indeed.

OLYMPIAN 12

Date

466 is more probable than 470: cf. W. S. Barrett, JHS 93 (1973), 23-35, who plausibly argues that the two Pythian victories (v. 18) were gained in 470 and 466.

Metre

The dactyloepitrites do not present special problems.

Composition

The structure of the poem is not determined by a central or unifying motif: the fact that the text contains two nautical metaphors (3 κυβερνῶνται, 6a τάμνοισαι) does not imply that "a maritime atmosphere pervades the ode"[1]. See further my notes on 4 λαιφηροί, 6a μεταμώνια τάμνοισαι κυλίνδονται, 7 σύμβολον, 12 ζάλαις, 12a βαθύ, 19 βαστάζεις.

It might be argued that the unity of the poem is based on the omnipresence of Tyche. But although her influence is implied in 15-6, she is absent from the description of Ergoteles' victories. This is remarkable because elsewhere (e.g. *O*. 8, 67, *N*. 6, 24, *N*. 10, 25) victories are said to be gained with the help of τύχα. The explanation is obvious and simple: in the present poem Tyche is closely connected with vicissitude, and it would have been very tactless to suggest that his victories came to Ergoteles unexpected. See further my note on 15 κατεφυλλορόησεν.

Commentary

1: λίσσομαι. Cf. A. Corlu, *Recherches sur les mots relatifs à l'idée de prière d'Homère aux tragiques* (Paris 1966), 304: "εὔχομαι exprime ce à quoi l'on s'engage par un vœu ou ce qu'on demande par un vœu, en parlant de soi ... En revanche, λίσσομαι c'est exhorter quelqu'un à faire quelque chose par grâce".

1: παῖ Ζηνός. Pindar often uses the proem of an ode to express his own religious ideas in a concise form: cf. Schadewaldt, 18, 39-40, 79[2]. Here the genealogy of Tyche emphasizes the fact that she is no arbitrary power but forms part of the world-order governed by the gods: cf. *O*. 8, 67 τύχᾳ δαίμονος, *O*. 10, 3-4 θυγάτερ/'Αλάθεια Διός, *P*. 8, 53 τύχᾳ θεῶν,

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[1] D. E. Gerber, *Euterpe* (Amsterdam 1970), 384.

[2] Thummer (108) wrongly ranges such hymnic proems under "die vorwiegend dekorativen Bestandteile des Epinikion".

N. 6, 24 σὺν θεοῦ τύχᾳ, and see further Strohm, 14 ff. Similarly, in fr. 41 Pindar makes her one of the Moirai, who are daughters of Zeus (Hes. *Th.* 904)[3].

Genealogy, just as apostrophe and an indication of the deity's sphere of influence, is a typical feature of the hymnic style[4], but Pindar has a special liking for using genealogies to express the relationship between abstract ideas: cf. *O.* 2, 17 Χρόνος ὁ πάντων πατήρ, *O.* 13, 10 Ὕβριν, κόρου ματέρα, *P.* 8, 1-2 Ἡσυχία, Δίκας θύγατηρ, and see further Dorns., *P.S.*, 51, Farn. II, 467, Thummer, *Religiosität*, 31. For the idea that every accomplishment (τέλος) is determined by the gods cf. Péron, 131-2.

1: Ἐλευθερίου. Me. maintains that this epithet "war damals noch neu: nach der Schlacht bei Plataeae errichteten die Griechen dem Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος einen Altar". But it appears from Hdt. III 142, 1 that the cult of Zeus Eleutherios existed as early as the 6th century[5]. We do not know whether there was such a cult in Himera, but Pindar certainly alludes to the fact that the town had recently been liberated from the tyranny of Thrasydaeus: see further Barrett, *art. cit.* (above, p. 89), who observes that in Syracuse a cult of Zeus Eleutherios was instituted after the overthrow of Thrasybulus (Diod. XI 72, 2).

2: εὐρυσθενέα. The predicate has resultative force: see on *O.* 3, 15 μνᾶμα. Cf. also Barrett, *art.cit.*, 35: "no likely word at ordinary times for a city as undistinguished as this, but it will strike a chord in men who have just emerged from subjection into real σθένος (in whatever measure) of their own"[6]. For εὐρυ- 'widely extending' see on *O.* 7, 18 εὐρυχόρου.

2: ἀμφιπόλει. Not 'keep thy sentry-round about' (Gild.) but 'keep protecting': cf. schol. ἔστι δὲ ὡς τὸ Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας and *P.* 4, 271, *N.* 8, 6[7]. For λίσσομαι followed by an imperative cf. *P.* 1, 71 λίσσομαι νεῦσον.

2: σώτειρα. Epithet of Themis (*O.* 8, 21), Eunomia (*O.* 9, 15), Zeus (*O.* 5, 17, *I.* 6, 8), Chronos (fr. 159). It often has a political connotation: cf. fr. 39 Τύχα φερέπολις, and Zeus σωσίπολις (Nilsson, 154 and 415, *RE* III A, 1170.10 ff.). In the present case it does not refer to the preservation

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[3] These parallels show that Wil. (306) is wrong in thinking that Pindar speaks of Tyche "ohne an das göttliche Weltregiment zu denken", and that the poet does not make her the daughter of Zeus "for the occasion" only, as is held by Barrett, *art. cit.* (above, p. 89), 29; similarly 35. See further Thummer, *Religiosität*, 93-4, Péron, 132-3.

[4] Cf. H. Meyer, *Hymnische Stilelemente in der frühgriechischen Dichtung* (Würzburg 1933), 5.

[5] See further Roscher VI, 619 ff., Farnell, *Cults* I, 116, Schwabl, *RE* X A, 303.33 ff.

[6] Fenn.'s translation 'of widely known might' is not sufficiently supported by referring to *N.* 3, 36 and *N.* 5, 4.

[7] Not 'nimm in Schutz' (We.), for Tyche has protected Himera since its liberation and she is asked to continue to do so. For the meaning of *N.* 8, 6 ἀμφεπόλησαν cf. B. K. Braswell, Glotta 58 (1980), 214 n. 33.

of a special constitution[8] but to a salutary maintenance of the whole political situation[9].

2: **Τύχα.** The divine power which makes things happen as they happen (τυγχάνειν). She manifests herself in the decisive turn of fate (*I.* 4, 31-2). She is not always identical with success[10] and therefore should not be translated by 'fair fortune' (Farn.) or 'Glücksgöttin' (Becker, *Glück*, We.), for she brings good as well as evil (*I.* 4, 33 τῶν τε γὰρ καὶ τῶν διδοῖ, fr. 40 δίδυμον στρέφοισα πηδάλιον). It is usually assumed that she did not have an actual cult before the 4th century[11], but it may be concluded from Cic. *Verr.* IV 119 that this cult in Sicily was considerably older[12].

3: **τίν.** Not 'with thee in view', i.e. "in order to secure good fortune" (Farn.) but a dative of agency. Gild. compares *P.* 1, 73 Συρακοσίων ἀρχῷ δαμασθέντες (cf. Hom. Σ 103 δάμεν Ἕκτορι, and K.G. I, 422-3, Bruhn, § 47). However, in these parallels the dative may still be felt as a dative of interest[13], and such a point of view is not obvious in the present case. Pindar could use the dative here because he now thinks of Tyche as a power rather than as a person. Abrupt transition from person to thing is also to be found in *O.* 8, 21-2 ἔνθα σώτειρα Διὸς ξενίου πάρεδρος ἀσκεῖται Θέμις: Themis sits as a person but is practised as a thing[14]. Similarly *N.* 7, 4 τεὰν ἀδελφεὰν ἐλάχομεν ἀγλαόγυιον Ἥβαν, Hes. *Op.* 222-4 ἡ (Dike) δ' ἕπεται κλαίουσα πόλιν καὶ ἤθεα λαῶν ... οἵ τέ μιν ἐξελάσωσι καὶ οὐκ ἰθεῖαν ἔνειμαν. Strohm (34-5) refers to a converse transition at *I.* 3-4, 49-51: "τύχα, zunächst die besondere Lage des Wettkämpfers bezeichnend, ist gleich darauf, zur Gestalt aufgehöht, die Schiedsrichterin des Kampfes". For the juxtaposition of deification and 'reification' see further Dorns., *P.S.*, 50-3, and my notes on Hes. *Op.* 11 Ἐρίδων γένος and 224 ἔνειμαν, and *N.* 11, 8 Θέμις, ICS 7, 1 (1982), 19-20, and the literature mentioned

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[8] As is held by P. Janni, Stud.Urbin. 39 (1965), 107 ff.

[9] Péron (127) takes σώτειρα to be a nautical metaphor, but the fact that σῴζειν could be said of a steersman does not prove that a θεὸς σωτήρ was imagined as a steersman.

[10] As is assumed by Farn. I, 64-5, II, 87, Wil., 306 and *Gl.* II, 300.

[11] Cf. Wil., 306 and *Gl.*, II, 304 n. 4.

[12] Cf. K. Ziegler, *RE* VII A, 1690-1, Thummer, *Religiosität*, 29. See further F. W. Hamdorf, *Griechische Kultpersonifikationen der vorhellenistischen Zeit* (Mainz 1964), 37-9, E. des Places, *La religion grecque* (Paris 1969), 111-3, H. Herter, *Kleine Schriften* (Munich 1975), 76 ff. The idea put forward by S. G. Kapsomenos, that the prayer is addressed to Hesychia, not to Tyche, has been convincingly refuted by Péron, 122-5.

[13] This applies also to δέχομαι with dative (*O.* 13, 29, *I.* 6, 4, Hom. B 186, K.G.I, 419) referred to by Strohm, 38 n. 25. Cf. also my note on *N.* 11, 7 σφι, ICS 7, 1 (1982), 19, where I made too rigid a distinction between the *dativus auctoris* and the dative of interest.

[14] Farn. wrongly calls this line a "hurried composition". Slater is equally wrong in translating ἀσκεῖται by 'is honoured'. At *P.* 3, 109 and *N.* 11, 8, too, the verb means 'to practise', just as ἀσκέω δικαιοσύνην (Hdt. I 96, 2), ἀ. ἀληθείην (Hdt. VII 209, 2), ἀ. ἀρετήν (E. fr. 853).

there. It may be added that Péron (131) is completely wrong in concluding from Pindar's frequent use of personification that he was "incapable de concevoir des idées abstraites": it depends on the context whether the abstract or the personal aspect of an idea is emphasized[15].

3: **ἐν πόντῳ.** Hitting the mark (τυγχάνειν) by choosing the right course is especially important in the case of seafarers and, accordingly, of a seaside town like Himera. Cf. A. *Ag.* 664 Τύχη δὲ σωτὴρ ναῦν θέλουσ' ἐφέζετο. Hesiod (*Th.* 360) made Tyche a daughter of Oceanus, because he was strongly conscious of the dangers of seafaring (*Op.* 618 ff.)[16].

3: **κυβερνῶνται.** For κυβερνάω referring to divine guidance cf. *P.* 4, 274, *P.* 5, 122, Heracl. B 41, Parm. B 12, 3, Diog. Ap. B 5. See further Péron, 121 ff., espec. 125-6[17].

3: **θοαί.** Jebb (on S. *Aj.* 710) maintains that θοός denotes actual speed, ὠκύς inherent speed, but Radt (138) more rightly observes that Pindar always uses θοός of things "zu deren Wesen eine schnelle Bewegung gehört". Similarly Fenn. on *O.* 1, 110[18]. Pindar adds the Homeric epithet to νᾶες in order to emphasize the difficulty of steering and the need of divine guidance (Becker, *Glück*, 45).

4: **τε.** For the position of τε see note on *O.* 7, 86.

4: **λαιψηροί.** Similarly *P.* 8, 26-7 θοαῖς μάχαις. I do not believe that "le parallélisme d'expression θοαὶ νᾶες (v. 3-4), λαιψηροὶ πόλεμοι (v. 4) indique avec certitude que Pindare, en décrivant les conflits, pensait encore aux vaisseaux" (Péron, 125-6): rapidity is characteristic of heroic fighting (cf. Hom. O 269 λαιψηρὰ πόδας καὶ γούνατ' ἐνώμα, E 295-6 ἵπποι ὠκύποδες, A 165 πολυάιχος πολέμοιο), and Pindar adds the qualification in order to suggest that the rapid turns of war are difficult to control and often have an unexpected outcome, as Himera had experienced in its recent past.

5: **ἀγοραὶ βουληφόροι.** A Homeric phrase (ι 112): cf. Bowra, 215. For the meaning 'where counsel is given' cf. A. *Pr.* 531 θοίναις βουφόνοις, Bruhn, § 244-5, E. Williger, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu den Komposita der*

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[15] Péron himself (131 n. 6) observes that at *O.* 8, 66 τύχᾳ is "purement abstrait".

[16] And not "because she is a desirable patroness of the young" (West *ad loc.*). See also G. Herzog-Hauser, WS 63 (1948), 160 ff. Bowra (123) thinks that Pindar "calls to mind the defeat of the Carthaginians in 480" and Barrett (*art. cit.*, 35 n. 42) refers to the fact that "Himera was one of the four cities who between them sent ships and troops to the Syracusan insurgents" (Diod. XI 68, 1-2), but I do not believe that Pindar is thinking of such special events: cf. Péron, 125, who goes too far, however, in denying the triad governed by Tyche any relevance to the particular situation of Himera.

[17] Cf. also D. van Nes, *Die maritime Bildersprache des Aischylos* (Groningen 1963), 127.

[18] If a difference of meaning between θοός and ὠκύς is accepted, Stanford on Hom. η 34 νηυσὶ θοῇσιν τοί γε πεποιθότες ὠκείῃσι is wrong in assuming that in the formula νηυσὶ θοῇσι the epithet had lost its force and needed reinforcement by the addition of ὠκείῃσι. Similarly S. *Aj.* 710 θοᾶν ὠκυάλων νεῶν.

griechischen Dichter des 5. Jahrhunderts (Göttingen 1928), 26 ff., and my notes on E. *Ba.* 139, Mnem. IV 34 (1981), 310, and A. *Ag.* 12, in *Actus: Studies ... H. L. W. Nelson* (Utrecht 1982), 434.

Pindar probably thinks of the fact that in a democratic constitution, and especially in a constitution recently established such as at Himera, deliberation is a precarious practice[19], rather than the fact that counsel was necessary for the winning of freedom, as is suggested by Barrett, *art. cit.*, 35[20]. The function of Tyche is analogous to that of Zeus Βουλαῖος, Βουλεύς, or Εὐβουλεύς (cf. Nilsson, 418, Schwabl, *RE* X A, 291.8 ff., 311.3 ff.).

5: **αἵ.** The article in Pindar ususally has demonstrative or possessive force: cf. R. Ullmann, SO 1 (1922), 59-69. The latter aspect seems to be meant here: the expectations in question are those belonging to navigation, warfare and politics. For this weak form of the possessive sense cf. *O.* 10, 77 τὸν ἐγκώμιον ἀμφὶ τρόπον (belonging to the feast), *N.* 7, 12 ταὶ μεγάλαι γὰρ ἀλκαί (belonging to the victor), Alc. 72, 10 τὼ δὲ πίθου (belonging to the drinking-bout), Sa. 96, 12 ἀ δὲ ἐέρσα (belonging to the scenery), A. *Ag.* 177 τῷ πάθει (Fraenkel: "by means of the πάθος appropriate to any given μάθος"), K.G. I, 593[21].

5: **γε μέν.** Has adversative force: Tyche fixes the outcome of human activities, but man's considerations preceding these activities are unstable (similarly Fenn., Sand., Péron, 128). For the adversative use of γε μέν cf. *P.* 4, 50, Hom. Λ 813 αἷμα μέλαν κελάρυζε· νόος γε μὲν ἔμπεδος ἦεν, Denn., 387-8.

For the idea of vicissitude in Pindar see note on *O.* 7, 11 ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλος.

6: **πόλλα.** Equivalent to πολλάκις: cf. LSJ III 1 a.

6: **ἄνω ... κάτω.** The common translation 'up and down' cannot be correct, for such a movement is not characteristic of ships which are driven out of their course. Besides, κυλίνδομαι does not refer to a vertical but to a horizontal movement: cf. *P.* 1, 24 κυλινδομένα φλόξ (a lavastream), Ar. *Nub.* 375 κυλινδόμεναι (clouds), Pl. *Phd.* 81 d (ψυχή) περὶ τὰ μνήματά τε καὶ τοὺς τάφους κυλινδουμένη, *The.* 172 c οἱ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις

[19] Cf. Bowra, 124, and Becker, *Glück*, 43, who refers to Alcman 64 P., where Tyche is made the sister of Eunomia and Peitho, and the daughter of Prometheia. For the importance of τύχη and τυγχάνειν in the use of striking words cf. Strohm, 39-40.

[20] Fenn. and Gild. suggest that Pindar alludes to the formula ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ used at the beginning of meetings, but this practice seems to belong to later times: the earliest instance of the formula being used in a decree is *IG* I^2 39 (446/5 B.C.); see further Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 755.

[21] See also my notes on Pl. *Phdo* 110 d 4, Mnem. IV 31 (1978), 96, and *Clit.* 410 b 8, Mnem. IV 35 (1982), 145.

χυλινδούμενοι[22]. For the meaning 'to and fro' cf. Ar. *Lys.* 709 περιπατεῖν ἄνω κάτω, Xen. *Cyr.* I 3, 4 πολλοὺς δέ τινας ἑλιγμοὺς ἄνω καὶ κάτω πλανώμενοι, LSJ II 2 a[23].

6: τὰ δέ. 'On the other hand': cf. Thuc. III 11, 5. The singular τὸ δέ is more common: cf. *O.* 9, 95, *I.* 3, 11, K.G.I, 584, and my note on *N.* 11, 43, ICS 7, 1 (1982), 33. For ὁ μέν to be understood before ὁ δέ cf. Denn., 166, K.G., *loc. cit.*

6a: ψεύδη. 'Phantoms': cf. *P.* 2, 37 (Ixion) νεφέλᾳ παρελέξατο, ψεῦδος γλυκὺ μεθέπων, fr. 124, 7 νέομεν ψευδῆ ('deceptive') πρὸς ἀκτάν. See further W. Luther, *Wahrheit und Lüge im ältesten Griechentum* (Borna-Leipzig 1935), 80 ff., who points out that this objective meaning is the original one.

6a: μεταμώνια. Not 'rising high' (Gild., Latt., following the schol. μετέωρα καὶ αἰρόμενα) nor 'wind-tossed' (Bo.; similarly Nis.[24]) but 'carried away by the winds', hence 'vain': cf. Hom. θ 408-9 ἔπος δ' εἴ πέρ τι βέβακται/δεινόν, ἄφαρ τὸ φέροιεν ἀναρπάξασαι ἄελλαι, β 98 μή μοι μεταμώνια νήματ' ὄληται (cf. also Δ 363, σ 332, and ἀνεμώλιος). Similarly *P.* 3, 22-3 παπταίνει τὰ πόρσω,/μεταμώνια θηρεύων ἀκράντοις ἐλπίσιν.

6a: τάμνοισαι. As ships cleaving the waves: cf. *P.* 3, 68 τέμνων θάλασσαν, Hom. γ 174-5 πέλαγος τέμνειν, ν 88, Bacch. *Dith.* 17, 4. Nautical metaphors are so frequent in Pindar's work (cf. Dorns., *P.S.*, 65, Péron, *passim*) that we need not assume that the image was "put in Pindar's mind by the exile's voyage from Crete to Sicily's northern coast" (Norwood, 106, Péron, 127). Norwood (106, 242 n. 24, referred to with approval by Péron, 129) further thinks that the rhythm of the line depicts the motion of a small sailing-ship, but his analysis of the rhythm (τάμνοισαι as a "recovery") conflicts with the metre[25]).

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[22] Péron (128 n. 3) maintains that these parallels "sont le plus souvent sans valeur pour notre texte", but criticism without argument cannot be answered.

[23] Pl. *Phil.* 43 a 3 ἅπαντα ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω ῥεῖ also suggests a horizontal rather than a vertical movement. See also my note on Ps.Pl. *Epist.* VII 343 e 1, Mnem. IV 17 (1964), 387, and P. T. Stevens, *Colloquial Expressions in Euripides* (Wiesbaden 1976), 11, whose conclusion, "This use, fairly common in E.,Comedy and Plato and never in A. or S., may also be colloquial", becomes doubtful when the Pindaric passage is taken into account. K. Latte, GGA 207 (1953), 41, rightly translates ἄνω ... κάτω by 'hin und her', but wrongly takes the original meaning of the phrase to refer to mowing.

[24] Cf. also Le. 'fluttuanti', who wrongly thinks that the word implies an association with "l'instabile cangiante orizzonte del mare".

[25] Norwood (cf. 209 n. 29) has been influenced by G. Thomson, *Greek Lyric Metre* (Cambridge 1929), who contends (72-3) that "the surest means of discovering the metre of a piece of Greek lyric is to read it according to the sense of the words, which the metre is designed to emphasize". He thinks, for instance, that the glyconic is especially appropriate to the atmosphere of love in *O.* 1, 41, but forgets that the same metre is used for 59 ἔχει δ' ἀπάλαμον βίον.

6a: κυλίνδονται. The above-mentioned parallels show that the verb refers to an unsteady movement (cf. also *P.* 4, 209), which is contrasted here with 3 κυβερνῶνται (Thummer, *Religiosität*, 92, Péron, 128)[26]. The fact that κυλίνδονται is used in a nautical context should not tempt us to think that the verb as such has a maritime connotation, as is suggested by Péron (128), who refers to the fact that it is used by Homer of the waves of the sea (cf. 265 n. 2: "κυλίνδεσθαι évoquant au propre le déferlement de la vague"). It is equally misleading to say that the verb is used by Pindar "pour traduire l'irrégularité et la force destructrice des éléments naturels (*Pyth.* I 24; IV 209), et exprime parfois aussi chez lui une idée de néant et d'absurdité (*Pyth.* II 23)" and to conclude that "on doit tenir compte de toutes ces nuances pour apprécier la valeur du terme dans la XIIe *Olympique*" (*ibid.*): irregular movement may lead to destruction, but this does not imply that the latter idea forms part of the meaning of the term.

6a: ἐλπίδες. Commonly translated by 'hopes', but the context (9 φραδαί, 10 γνώμαν) shows that 'suppositions' or 'expectations' are meant, as is pointed out by O. Lachnit, *Elpis* (Diss. Tübingen 1965), 42-3[27]. For this meaning of ἐλπίς cf. Lachnit, 3 ff. and my note on Hes. *Op.* 96. Pindar has a low estimation of ἐλπίς: it is κενεός (*N.* 8, 45), ἄκραντος (*P.* 3, 23), ἀναιδής (*N.* 11, 45), φθονερός (*I.* 2, 43), and usually strives after the impossible, although sometimes it may act as a useful stimulus (*O.* 13, 104, *P.* 3, 111, *I.* 8, 15a)[28].

For the position of ἐλπίδες at the end of the sentence cf. *O.* 1, 106-8 τεαῖσι ... μερίμναισιν, *O.* 2, 15-7 τῶν ... ἔργων, *O.* 14, 22-4 νέαν ... χαίταν, and Dorns., *P.S.*, 107, who remarks: "So ist es den Chorlyrikern möglich, ein Mosaik von Worten zu schaffen, wo jedes Wort als Klang, als Ort, als Begriff nach rechts und links und über das Ganze hin seine Kraft ausströmt"[29].

7: σύμβολον. The translation 'omen' (LSJ III 2) cannot be correct, for Pindar firmly believed in oracles and omens (cf. *O.* 8, 2) and the meaning of πιστόν cannot be weakened to 'clear' (Fenn.). The difficulty disappears if we take σύμβολον in its original sense of 'tally', 'mark of identification'. Such a token is always reliable because it has its meaning

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[26] In fr. 214 it is said of Elpis: μάλιστα θνατῶν πολύστροφον γνώμαν κυβερνᾷ, but the addition of πολύστροφον (perhaps used to denote the result) shows that she is not a true guide. For a more positive interpretation cf. Nisetich, 248-9. See also Péron, 138.

[27] Schad.'s 'Berechnungen' suggests too rational a connotation.

[28] See further J. J. A. Schrijen, *Elpis. De voorstelling van de hoop in de Griekse literatuur tot Aristoteles* (Groningen 1965), 54 ff., Nisetich, 243-9. Cf. also my note on *N.* 11, 46, ICS 7, 1 (1982), 36.

[29] I do not believe that Pindar intended to reinforce the idea of expectation by the long distance between αἱ and ἐλπίδες, as is suggested by Nisetich, 243.

in itself, whereas the tokens given by the gods usually have a hidden meaning, so that their outward appearance cannot be relied upon[30]. Cf. *N.* 11, 43-4 τὸ δ' ἐκ Διὸς ἀνθρώποις σαφὲς οὐχ ἕπεται/τέκμαρ, where σαφές is equivalent to πιστόν: see my note *ad loc.*, ICS 7, 1 (1982), 34.

Péron (257) thinks that "le tableau marin a pour fonction de traduire le thème de l'avenir indéchiffrable", but the maritime imagery ends at 6a[31]. R. Hamilton, Phoen. 38 (1984), 263-4, points out some changes in the effigy of the coins of Himera between 490 and 466, and concludes: "Coins are a σύμβολον that is not πιστόν; they shift and their shifting reflects the shifting fortunes of both city and victor. All men can do is praying to Tyche". If we should wish to turn this into a cogent argument three presuppositions would have to be added, all of which are wrong: (1) the effigy on the coins of Himera represents the political situation, (2) effigies on coins are made on the basis of divine inspiration, (3) men think that the present effigy on a coin portends the future.

7: **δέ.** Not adversative (Schad. 'doch') but explanatory: the absence of a divine σύμβολον explains the vacillatory character of human expectations[32].

8: **πράξιος.** Has the connotation of accomplishment and realization: cf. *O.* 1, 85, *P.* 9, 68, A. *Pers.* 739 χρησμῶν πρᾶξις. For a similar use of πράττω cf. LSJ III 1 and Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1380. See further Strohm, 17, Becker, 52-5[33].

8: **ἐσσομένας.** Pindar is strongly conscious of man's ignorance of the future: cf. *O.* 2, 30-3, *P.* 10, 63, *N.* 11, 46. See further Strohm, 64 ff., Péron, 130-1.

9: **μελλόντων.** Scil. ἔσεσθαι: cf. L. Basset, *Les emplois périphrastiques du verbe grec* μέλλειν (Lyon 1979), 22 ff.

9: **φραδαί.** The translation 'hints' (Me., Fenn., Becker, *Glück*, Gal.) does not suit τετύφλωνται. For the meaning 'perception', 'understanding' (schol. γνώσεις) cf. φράζομαι 'to perceive' (LSJ II 4), Hom. Ω 354 φραδέος νόου, Π 638 φράδμων. For the blindness of human insight cf. *Pae.* 7 B, 18 τυφλαὶ γὰρ ἀνδρῶν φρένες[34]. Gild. rightly observes that the plural is used because the perception has a plural object: cf. *P.* 3, 13 ἀμπλακίαισι, *O.*

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[30] Cf. Becker, *Glück*, 45: "Pindar weiss, dass an der Deutung der von Gott gegebenen Zeichen alles hängt: ein wirkliches Pfand, wie es der Gastfreund seinem Gast beim Abschied gibt, dass sich noch ihrer beider Kinder später daran als Gastfreunde erkennen können, ein solches Symbolon hat noch keiner von einem Gott als Zeichen bekommen".

[31] He makes the same mistake in extending the nautical connotation of *N.* 11, 44 ἐμβαίνομεν to 44 τέκμαρ and 46 ῥοαί: see my notes *ad loc.*, ICS 7, 1 (1982), 34 and 37-8.

[32] It is misleading to say that δέ "reinforces" 5 μέν (Péron, 130 n.1).

[33] His translation 'Gelingen' (*Glück*, 42) is too positive.

[34] Fränkel (558) wrongly translates φραδαί by 'Pläne'.

5, 20 εὐανορίαισι, Hom. N 108 μεθημοσύνῃσι, β 346 πολυιδρείῃσιν, K.G. I, 16.

10: δέ. Not 'aber' (Schad.) but 'and therefore': see note on *O.* 7, 48.

10: ἔπεσεν. 'Turn out'. For the metaphor see note on *O.* 7, 69.

11: ἔμπαλιν. Equivalent to ἐναντίον: cf. *P.* 12, 32 ἔμπαλιν γνώμας.

11: οἱ δέ. In *Zetesis*, 337-8, I referred to K.G.II, 265: "der Redende denkt zunächst ausschliesslich an die Mehrheit, die er als Gesamtsubjekt fasst, ohne auf die Minderheit Rücksicht zu nehmen, und fügt dann erst nachträglich mit οἱ δέ die Ergänzung oder Beschränkung hinzu". But the present context does not suggest that οἱ δέ form a minority, so that we should rather mentally supply τοῖς in the preceding clause (see above, on 6 τὰ δέ) and assume the change of the construction to be intended to lay emphasis on the second clause.

12: ζάλαις. Not necessarily a "recurrence to the nautical figure" (Gild.; similarly Péron, 296, Le.)[35], for a ζάλη may also occur ashore (e.g. Pl. *Rep.* 496 d 7). It is misleading to say that "ζάλαις ne peut se référer qu'au conflit qui, déchirant sa patrie, l'a contraint à l'exil" (Péron, 297): conversely, 16 στάσις is an instance of ζάλαις.

12a: ἐσλόν. 'Good fortune', 'success': cf. *P.* 3, 81-2 παρ' ἐσλὸν πήματα σύνδυο δαίονται βροτοῖς/ἀθάνατοι, Slater, 2 b.

12a: βαθύ. Not 'deep', 'profound' (most translators)[36] but 'high' (Fenn., We., Le.): cf. *O.* 1, 99 ἐσλὸν ὕπατον, and see further note on *O.* 7, 53.

12a: πήματος. Equivalent to ἀντὶ πήματος: cf. *Pae.* 4, 15 νιν Βαβυλῶνος ἀμείφομαι, Antiph. 5, 79 ἠλλάξαντο μὲν γὰρ πολλῆς εὐδαιμονίας πολλὴν κακοδαιμονίαν.

12a: μικρῷ. Probably has expressive force: cf. A. C. Moorhouse, CQ 41 (1947), 31 ff., who observes (32) that "μικρός gradually has affective or emotional connotations, and ὀλίγος nearly always has not".

12a: πεδάμειψαν. The active is used instead of the middle: cf. K.G.I, 110, and see note on *O.* 3, 25 πορεύεν. For the idea of vicissitude in Pindar see notes on *O.* 7, 11 and 95.

13: Φιλάνορος. The *topos* of praising the victor's father (cf. Thummer, 49 ff.) here appears in its shortest form. Similarly *O.* 6, 9 Σωστράτου υἱός, *P.* 8, 71-2 Καρειάδα υἱός. The contrast between Φιλάνορος and 16 ἀντιάνειρα is probably intended as a pun: the conflict from which Ergoteles

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[35] Fenn. even maintains that it means "the waves that break over a storm-tossed ship" (similarly Schad.).

[36] Gild. tries to explain this meaning by suggesting that "the adj. belongs to the sea sphere, proverbially rich" (similarly Péron, 206-7), but the sea is not the place of richness *par excellence*. Becker's paraphrase 'inexhaustible' (*Glück*, 46: "wenn es fast etwas Schwelgerisches an sich hat") is equally unconvincing.

has escaped has turned into a friendly situation in which the omen of his father's name has been fulfilled: cf. Barkhuizen, 59-60. For etymologizing puns in Pindar see W. B. Stanford, *Ambiguity in Greek Literature* (Oxford 1939), 129 ff., Bowra, 211 ff., and Barkhuizen, *passim*.

13: ἦτοι. Cf. Denn., 553: "Strictly, τοι serves to bring home a truth of which the certainty is expressed by ἦ".

13: καί. Neglected by Pu., Fränkel, Bo., Latt. The word does not refer to his specific fate but to the general scheme behind it: 'in your case, too, evil turned into good'.

13-5: τεὰ ... τιμὰ ... ποδῶν. Equivalent to τιμὰ τεῶν ποδῶν, but Wilamowitz on E. *H.F.* 468 rightly points out that we should not speak of *enallage* in such cases where two substantives form a closely connected whole. Similarly *O.* 1, 48 ὕδατος πυρὶ ζέοισαν ἀκμάν, *O.* 8, 42 τεαῖς, ἥρως, χερὸς ἐργασίαις, *O.* 11, 3 ὀμβρίων παίδων νεφέλας. See further Dorns., *P.S.*, 39-40, K.G.I, 263, Bruhn, § 10, Williger (above, on 5 ἀγοραὶ βουληφόροι), 9 ff., 22 ff.[37].

For the separation of τεά and τιμά see above, on 6a ἐλπίδες.

13-5: κεν ... κατεφυλλορόησεν. For the use of negative expressions serving as a foil for positive ones (17 νῦν δέ) cf. W. H. Race, TAPA 113 (1983), 95 ff., espec. 101.

14: ἐνδομάχας. Explained by Gerber (above, n. 1) as "a cock which fights only in its own barnyard and not in organized matches" (cf. A. *Ag.* 1671 ἀλέκτωρ ὥστε θηλείας πέλας)[38]. But Fenn. rightly observes that the δόλιχος was a speciality of the Cretans (Xen. *An.* IV 8, 27). It may be added that the comparison would lose its point if it did not refer to organized matches. It has been objected[39] that "συγγόνῳ παρ' ἑστίᾳ ist passender, wenn der Vergleich auf einen Haushahn geht". But that phrase is equivalent to 'home' in the sense of 'one's own country': cf. *O.* 6, 99 οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε and LSJ οἴκοθεν 1, οἴκαδε I, S. *O.C.* 759 ἡ δ' οἴκοι (scil. πόλις). Borthwick (*art. cit.*, 199) thinks that the cock is used as a symbol of civil war (just as at A. *Eum.* 861-6), "immersed in which Ergoteles' athletic prowess would have had no opportunity to flourish *at all*". But (1) κατεφυλλορόησεν implies that Ergoteles did participate in the foot-race in Crete, but that the fame gained there did not flourish a long time, and (2) it would have been rather painful to Ergoteles to be reminded of his role in the civil war.

14: ἅτε. 'Just as': cf. Denn., 526, Ruijgh, 641, 983-4.

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[37] Cf. also V. Bers, *Enallage and Greek Style* (Leiden 1974), espec. 45 ff., and the critical remarks made by A. Hoekstra in *Miscellanea ... J. C. Kamerbeek* (Amsterdam 1976), 157 ff.

[38] Similarly G. Kurz, in *Musa iocosa: Festschrift A. Thierfelder* (Hildesheim 1974), 8-9, E. K. Borthwick, CQ N.S. 26 (1976), 198.

[39] Kurz, *loc. cit.*

14: ἀλέκτωρ. Brachylogy for τιμὰ ἀλέκτορος: cf. Hom. P 51 κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι, K.G.II, 310-1. Cock-fights were popular in the whole of Greece (cf. *KP* II, 917-8), so that we need not assume that Pindar alludes to the cock represented on the coins of Himera[40].

14: συγγόνῳ. 'Native': cf. S. fr. 911 σύγγονον ὕδωρ and Pearson's note *ad loc.*: "It [σύγγονον] points to a feeling of actual kinship with the river, which was regarded as κουροτρόφος and παιδογόνος". Similarly, the life of a man was closely connected with the hearth to which he had been dedicated after his birth (cf. Nilsson, 95).

14: ἑστίᾳ. This, just as ἐνδο-, suggests obscurity in the sense of being unknown to fame: cf. *N.* 1, 31 ἐν μεγάρῳ, *I.* 1, 67 ἔνδον, *P.* 4, 186 παρὰ ματρί, and Race, *loc. cit.* and n. 22.

15: ἀκλεής. Has resultative force: see above, on 2 εὐρυσθενέα. The κλέος referred to is permanent fame: cf. *O.* 8, 10 μέγα τοι κλέος αἰεί, *I.* 3-4, 60 ἐργμάτων ἀκτὶς καλῶν ἄσβεστος αἰεί.

15: κατεφυλλορόησεν. Pindar alludes to the victor's wreath (cf. *O.* 8, 76 φυλλοφόρων ἀπ' ἀγώνων)[41], but the verb at the same time has a metaphorical sense based on the comparison of the victor's fame celebrated in a poem with a plant fostered by water: cf. *N.* 8, 40 αἴσσει δ' ἀρετά, χλωραῖς ἐέρσαις ὡς ὅτε δένδρεον, *I.* 5, 17 θάλλοισ' ἀρετά, *I.* 6, 12 δαίμων φυτεύει δόξαν, *P.* 4, 69 θεόπομποί σφισιν τιμαὶ φύτευθεν, *O.* 10, 95-6 τρέφοντι δ' εὐρὺ κλέος/κόραι Πιερίδες Διός, *N.* 7, 62 ὕδατος ὥτε ῥοὰς φίλον ἐς ἄνδρ' ἄγων, Bacch. 5, 198 τόθεν (a laudatory poem) γὰρ πυθμένες θάλλουσιν ἐσθλῶν. For poetry regarded as a life-giving stream of water cf. *P.* 5, 98-100, *P.* 8, 57, *I.* 6, 21 and 74, Dorns., *P.S.*, 62, Duchemin, 252 ff., Gianotti, 110 ff.[42].

Becker (*Glück*, 48) suggests that Pindar also alludes to Hom. Z 146 οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν. This idea has been elaborated by Nisetich, 259 ff., who argues that (1) κατεφυλλορόησεν implies the idea of man's mortality, (2) the same idea is present in the strophe and antistrophe, and (3) Ergoteles, by winning immortal fame, has triumphed over the human condition, although his victories were unpredictable. But (1) the purpose of the Homeric comparison is not to emphasize man's mortality but an ironic depreciation of the value of

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[40] Cf. K. Dietel, *Das Gleichnis in der frühen griechischen Lyrik* (Munich 1939), 134, who rightly points out that the comparison refers to the time when Ergoteles still lived in Crete. See also Nisetich, 262 n. 91.

[41] But not to the fact that the victors "von den Zuschauern mit Laubzweigen überschüttet wurden" (Fränkel, 500 n. 7).

[42] See also A. Kambylis, *Die Dichterweihe und ihre Symbolik* (Heidelberg 1965), 23 ff., and my essay *De adem Gods*, Meded. Kon. Ned. Akad. v. Wet., Lett. N.R. 36:8 (1973), espec. 21-2.

genealogies. (2) Nisetich reads the idea of human mortality into the strophe and antistrophe by adding overtones for which there is no evidence, e.g. 259: "Men risk their lives in war and politics and seafaring"[43]. (3) It is true that fame celebrated in a victory ode makes the victor immortal (see note on *O.* 7, 11 ζωθάλμιος), and it is also true that his move to Himera was unpredictable. But it would be a sign of bad taste if the poet had suggested that the victor's successes were determined by the same divine power of incalculability (see above, p. 89).

The abrupt transition from one image to another belongs to the mosaic character of Pindar's style: see above, on 6a ἐλπίδες, and cf. Schadewaldt, 41 n. 2: "Die Mannigfaltigkeit vereinigter Bilder ist bei Pindar nie auf die Einheit der Empfindung bezogen wie in neuerer Lyrik ... Den Bildelementen kommt nicht Empfindungs-, sondern Bedeutungswert zu. Diesen bewahren sie auch in der Vereinigung". W. B. Stanford, *Greek Metaphor* (Oxford 1936), 34, rightly observes: "The result is not confusion—as it would be if the metaphors were truly mixed—but rather a kaleidoscopic effect"[44]. Some more examples are *O.* 6, 81-2 ἀκόνας ... πνοαῖς, *O.* 9, 12 ὀιστόν ... 22 ἐπιφλέγων ... 26 κᾶπον, *P.* 10, 51-4 κώπαν ... ἄγκυραν ... μέλισσα, *Pae.* 6, 128-130 εὐνάζομεν ... ῥόθια ... ναυπρύτανιν. See further Schmid, 606-7, Dorns., *P.S.*, 66-9 (who wrongly speaks of "Vermischung der Bilder").

15: ποδῶν. 'Gained by his feet': for the *genitivus auctoris* see note on *O.* 3, 4 ἄωτον.

16: ἀντιάνειρα. In Homer (Γ 189, Ζ 186) 'a match for men' said of the Amazons, here 'wherein man is set against man'. Pindar sometimes uses epic phrases in a new sense, e.g. *I.* 4, 46 ἐριβρεμετᾶν θηρῶν λεόντων (Hom. of Zeus), *P.* 5, 1 πλοῦτος εὐρυσθενής (Hom. of Poseidon). See further Schr., *Prol.*, 45-6, Bowra, 216[45]. Cf. also note on *O.* 7, 43 θυμὸν ἰάναιεν.

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[43] Nisetich (260) observes that the contrast man-god, which dominates the first part of the poem, is associated by the Greek mind with the contrast mortal-immortal. But it seems to me significant that Pindar uses the terms ἄνδρες (5) and ἐπιχθόνιοι (7), not θνατοί.

[44] Bowra (271) maintains that ἅτε "attaches the second image [ἀλέκτωρ] to the first [fame as a plant] in a subordinate position". This may be true from a grammatical point of view, but poetically considered the two images succeed each other to express two stages of the same process. Th. Hoey, HSCP 70 (1965), 247, writes that "these images do not simply follow, they trespass, upon each other", but he does not explain how. E. K. Borthwick, CQ N.S. 26 (1976), 198-9, thinks that "φυλλοροεῖν can actually be used both of the shedding of leaves and the moulting of birds' feathers". He refers to Arist. *GA* 783 b 17, but that sentence is either incomplete or interpolated, and the analogies between leaves and feathers mentioned by Borthwick are not specific enough to support his assumption.

[45] For *Pae.* 6, 95 ὑψικόμῳ Ἑλένᾳ cf. Radt, 152-3.

16: ἄμερσε. 'To deprive somebody of something naturally belonging to him' (e.g. Hom. θ 64 ὀφθαλμῶν).

17: νῦν δέ. 'But in reality'. Cf. Hom. B 80-2 εἰ μὲν ... νῦν δέ, A. *Pr.* 754-5 ἦν ἄν ... νῦν δέ, E. *H.F.* 312-4 εἰ μὲν ... νῦν δέ, LSJ I 4. See further my notes on Pl. *Phd.* 94 c 9, Mnem. IV 11 (1958), 228, and 107 c 8, Mnem. IV 31 (1978), 94, Hipp. *Morb. Sacr.* 1.42, Mnem. IV 26 (1973), 303, and Arist. *Cael.* 297 b 1, in I. Düring (ed.), *Naturphilosophie bei Aristoteles und Theophrast* (Heidelberg 1969), 280-1[46].

17: στεφανωσάμενος. 'Having yourself crowned': see note on *O.* 7, 15.

18: ἐκ. 'With crowns coming from': cf. Hom. ζ 224 ἐκ ποταμοῦ χρόα νίζετο.

18: Πυθῶνος. Although his most recent victory was gained at Delphi (see above, p. 89), the ode was classified among the *Olympians* because an Olympic victory was considered more important. Cf. Barrett, *art. cit.* (above, p. 89), 23 and n.1., who compares *O.* 9.

18: τε. Fenn. wrongly thinks that δίς also belongs to Ἰσθμοῖ: for single τε at the end of a series see note on *O.* 3, 8.

19: λουτρά. 'Bathing-place'. The hot springs at Himera were famous (cf. A. fr. 32 N. = 64 M., Diod. Sic. V 4, 4)[47].

19: βαστάζεις. 'Exalt': cf. *I.* 3, 8 χρὴ δὲ κωμάζοντ' ἀγαναῖς χαρίτεσσιν βαστάσαι, Arist. *Rhet.* 1413 b 12 βαστάζονται ('are popular'). Similarly ἐπαείρειν (*O.* 9, 20). The use of the present tense excludes Gerber's assumption (above, n. 1), 387, that "by his victory Ergoteles has brought glory to the 'warm baths of the Nymphs', i.e. to Himera". Nisetich (264 n. 93) tries to meet this objection by suggesting that "the present tense here embraces the future", but when Ergoteles will continue glorifying the Nymphs this does not imply that he will continue bringing glory to Himera. Nisetich (*loc. cit.*) further combines Gerber's interpretation with Fränkel's view (499-500, *W.u.F.*, 97-9) that βαστάζεις means 'you have (the water) in your hands', i.e. 'you are bathing', and that "ein Bad im neuen Lande galt als Symbol erfolgreicher Umsiedlung". But Fränkel speaks of '*a* bath' (cf. *W.u.F.*, 98: "dass ein Bad im Quell- oder Flusswasser eines Ortes dazu dienen kann, anzudeuten, dass eine Wanderung abgeschlossen ist"), and Ergoteles probably lived already

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[46] Cf. also B. A. van Groningen, *In the Grip of the Past* (Leiden 1953), 17-8. Fränkel (25 n. 36) has misunderstood this use in Hom. α 43.

[47] For the worship of hot springs cf. J. H. Croon, *The Herdsman of the Dead* (Utrecht 1952), and Mnem. IV 9 (1956), 193 ff. I do not believe that Pindar alludes to the practice of taking a hot bath after the match (*N.* 4, 4), as is suggested by Becker, *Glück*, 48. The abstruse meaning assumed by Th. C. Smith, CB 36 (1959), 17: "The water imagery ... is no longer rough and turbulent but warm and enjoyable", is even less convincing.

ten years in Himera (see below, on 19 οἰκείαις)[48]. We must conclude that he worships the springs because he lives near them.

19: ὁμιλέων. This cannot mean 'dwelling on lands of thy own lordship' (Farn.; similarly Dorns., We.). 'Dwelling by fields your own' (Bo., Schad.) is equally improbable, for ὁμιλέω never means 'to dwell near'[49]. We should rather supply Νυμφαῖς: 'keeping company with them', i.e. worshipping them[50]. Similarly, Pindar calls the hero Alcmaeon his γείτων (*P.* 8, 58).

19: οἰκείαις. This cannot mean 'of your fellow Cretans' (as is suggested by Fenn.) but emphasizes his ἔγκτησις (Gild.). The scholiast (followed by Bowra, 123) tells us that Ergoteles took part in the expulsion of Thrasydaeus, but it seems more likely "dass Theron von Agrigent, nachdem er in einer Strafaktion die Bewohner von Himera stark dezimiert hatte, nach 476 neue Kolonisten zur Auffüllung dorthin berief" (Becker, *Glück*, 47): cf. Diod. XI 49, 3 and Barrett (above, p. 89), 24.

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[48] This fact also disproves Norwood's suggestion, CQ 9 (1915), 4, that Ergoteles is "formally installed in his estate, entering it with a vessel in his arms containing the famous waters of the place, and irrigating his land for the first time with a gift from the Holy Ones of his new city".

Hamilton (above, on 7 σύμβολον), 262, observes that "a long-lived series of Himeraian tetradrachms beginning in the 470s and lasting until the 410s shows on the reverse a large female (presumably the Nymph Himera) in the center pouring a libation over an altar and to one side a figure reaching out with one hand into the fountain in which he is bathing", and concludes: "It seems likely, then, that Pindar describes Ergoteles as engaging in the same activity as the figure on the coins". But 'you are holding bath-water in your hands' would be a strange way of saying 'you are bathing'.

[49] The parallels quoted by LSJ (VII) mean 'visit'.

[50] Fränkel (500) supplies λουτροῖς: 'im warmen Nymphenquell, den du aufsuchst'.

OLYMPIAN 14

Date

There is almost general agreement about 488 as being the most probable date of composition: cf. Wil., 150 n.1; Pu., *Notice*, 156; Bowra, 407; Wüst, 89-90; Fogelmark, 90.

Metre

I propose the following analysis:

chodim
ia teles ba
do reiz
dodr chodim ia
do cr do
cho dodr
chodim reiz
cr gl
chodim cr chodim
ia ba gl
ia ia
do teles ba

The fundamental elements are iambus and choriambus. Wil. (*Versk.*, 314) forcefully tries to reduce everything to iambics. Del Grande (118) wrongly takes the adonius as a module, because ''gl'inni cletici dei poeti eolici sono scritti in strofe saffiche''. T. B. L. Webster, *The Greek Chorus* (London 1970), 87, builds up combinations of 'd s x', but I do not think that such small units explain anything.

Problems of metrical correspondence will be discussed in the commentary: see notes on 20 μελαντειχέα, 21 ἔλθε.

Χάρις and the Charites

In the Homeric epics Aphrodite is not surrounded by Erotes but by Charites. They have made her robe (Ε 338), they wash, anoint and dress her (θ 364), and receive her into their dance (σ 194). They bestow beauty on girls (ζ 18) and apparently excel in this quality themselves. Hera bribes Hypnos by offering him one of the Charites to become his wife (Ξ 267 ff.). They are not, however, a mere personification of beauty: their specific gift is to make beauty attractive, especially in an erotic sense. Thus Hypnos says that he has always wanted the girl promised by Hera

(Ξ 276)[1]. Hesiod explicates the erotic aspect by declaring that from the eyes of the Charites flows the passion of love (*Th.* 910). They enhance the charm of Pandora by putting golden necklaces upon her (*Op.* 73-4). This passage shows that the activity of the Charites is not confined to erotics but also relates to arts and crafts. The latter aspect appears already in the *Iliad*, where Charis is the wife of Hephaestus (Σ 382): she personifies the charm of his metalwork. Similarly, much χάρις is said to radiate from Hera's ear-drops (Ξ 183), a formula applied by Hesiod (*Th.* 583) to the diadem made by Hephaestus for Pandora. On this point, too, Hesiod is more explicit than Homer: he mentions the youngest of the Charites, Aglaia ('Splendour') as the wife of Hephaestus (*Th.* 945-6), which implies a more emphatic reference to the radiant charm which may emanate from a work of art[2].

Hesiod gives the Charites one more function: they are living on mount Olympus near the Muses (*Th.* 64). This obviously means that they lend the appropriate charm to song and dance[3]. The connection between the Charites and the Muses is represented in a more concrete form in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* 189 ff., where the Charites are said to dance and the Muses to sing at the cithern-playing by Apollo. The same scene is found on the François vase, and according to Pausanias (IX 35, 3) there was a sixth-century statue of Apollo at Delos, bearing three Charites on his hand[4]. In the same period Theognis (15-7) has the Muses and the Charites sing together: 'Only beautiful things are beloved'. Sappho (103 and 129) invokes the Muses and the Charites in conjunction, and Stesichorus (212) calls his poems 'publications of the Charites'.

Pindar adopted this tradition and gave the idea a more articulate expression. He twice mentions the Charites together with Aphrodite (*P.* 6, 1, *Pae.* 6, 4), but he is interested in their aesthetic rather than in their erotic aspects[5]. To Pindar, χάρις in the first place means the charm which

[1] Gianotti (68) is obviously wrong in calling this girl (and Charis, wife of Hephaestus) "la 'Riconoscenza' personificata".

[2] See also Deichgräber, 21 ff.; K. A. Preiss, *Der mythologische Stoff in der Ilias* (Diss. Mainz 1977), 74-5. Wil. (153) wrongly concludes: "so sieht man, wie sehr der Gehalt des Namens verblassen konnte".

[3] This idea is foreshadowed in the *Odyssey*: cf. θ 175 χάρις ἀμφιπεριστέφεται ἐπέεσσιν, ω 197-8 ἀοιδὴν χαρίεσσαν.

[4] Wil. (*Gl.* I, 193 n. 4) doubts the authenticity of the statue, because it is said that the Charites were holding musical instruments (Apollod. fr. 98, 13 Jac., Plut. *Mus.* 14), whereas in early literature the Charites are only singing and dancing. But the artists may have simply projected the human practice of women playing musical instruments into the three goddesses. Cf. also Callim. fr. 114, discussed by R. Pfeiffer, *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Munich 1960), 55-71. Duchemin (80) is certainly wrong in suggesting "que les Charites représentées à Délos avec Apollon soient associées aux puissances de guérison de ce dieu".

[5] Cf. Radt, 103-4.

issues from poetry, and he considers this charm to be a divine power. He feels inspired by the Muses, who as daughters of Mnemosyne determine the factual contents of a poem (cf. *Pae.* 6, 51-2), and the Charites, who determine the effect on the audience[6]. Pindar emphatically embraces the old tradition that songs are to delight (τέρπειν) the audience[7]. He repeatedly points out that his songs are 'sweet', even 'honey-sweet', and 'delightful'[8]. We shall see that all sweetness and delight are due to the Charites (*O.* 14, 5-6). The poet finds striking expressions with the help of the Charites (*N.* 4, 7-8), and Pindar even calls his song 'the exquisite product of the Charites' (*I.* 8, 16)[9]. Such phrases should not be regarded as metaphors or mannerisms, for Pindar is sincerely convinced of the divine character of Charis and the Charites: Charis is called αἰδοία (*O.* 6, 76) and the Charites are σεμναί even among the Olympians (*O.* 14, 8).

The charm given by the Charites is not always of an aesthetic nature. The word χάρις properly means 'enjoyment' (τὸ χαίρειν)[10]. Just as ὄψις denotes both the act of seeing and the thing seen, χάρις is the joy felt but also the thing rejoiced at[11]. Such a thing may be a favour or a friendly

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[6] Cf. Duchemin, 57-8, 93 and Anastase, 213-4, 219-20, who refers to *N.* 9, 53-5. There is a close connection between the Muses and the Charites, as is pointed out by Gianotti, 69 ff., who compares *P.* 5, 45 σὲ δ' ἠΰκομοι φλέγοντι Χάριτες with *O.* 7, 23 φλέγεται δὲ ἰοπλόκοισι Μοίσαις, and *O.* 9, 26 Χαρίτων νέμομαι κᾶπον and *P.* 6, 1-2 ἄρουραν Χαρίτων ἀναπολίζομεν with *N.* 6, 32 Πιερίδων ἀρόταις. But it is misleading to say that the Charites "bestimmen Inhalt und Form der Dichtung, 'über die Musen hinaus, die sie zunächst nur geben'" (Gund., 45, quoting Jacoby).

[7] Cf. e.g. Hom. I 186, 189, α 347, θ 45, ρ 385, Hes. *Th.* 37, 51, 96-103, Sa. 160, Anacr. 32. See further Maehler, 15, 28-9, and my remarks in Mnem. IV 36 (1983), 48.

[8] E.g. *I.* 7, 20 ἀδυμελεῖ σὺν ὕμνῳ, *N.* 11, 18 μελιγδούποισι ἀοιδαῖς, *O.* 6, 105 ἐμῶν δ' ὕμνων ἄεξ' εὐτερπὲς ἄνθος. See further note on *O.* 7, 8 γλυκύν.

[9] In such cases the Charites seem to take over the function of the Muses (compare *N.* 4, 7-8 ὅ τι κε σὺν Χαρίτων τύχᾳ γλῶσσα φρενὸς ἐξέλοι βαθείας with *Pae.* 7b, 18-20 τυφλαὶ γὰρ ἀνδρῶν φρένες, ὅστις ἄνευθ' Ἑλικωνιάδων βαθεῖαν ... ἐρευνᾷ σοφίας ὁδόν). But Bowra's paraphrase (31) of *N.* 4, 7-8, "the poet relies upon the Graces to help him in drawing the right, apt words from the depths of his being", is misleading: τύχᾳ does not refer to the appropriate word, but to the effective word, the word that strikes the audience. Similarly, ἄωτος at *I.* 8, 16 refers to attractive appearance rather than to inner quality: cf. R. A. Raman, Glotta 53 (1975), 195 ff. Even in such cases as *N.* 10, 1-2 the Charites cannot be said to replace the Muses, as is maintained by H. Meyer, *Hymnische Stilelemente in der frühgriechischen Dichtung* (Würzburg 1933), 62.

[10] Some examples: *P.* 8, 85-6 γέλως γλυκὺς ὦρσεν χάριν, *I.* 6, 50 ἔνδον μιν ἔχνιξεν χάρις. Cf. also χάριν εἰδέναι, where enjoyment of a favour finds expression in gratitude, and χάριν φέρειν τινί 'confer a favour on one', but properly 'bring enjoyment to', 'make one enjoy'.

[11] This analysis, based on the fact that in early Greek thought no sharp distinction is drawn between subject and object, seems to me more natural than the explanation proposed by J. Latacz, *Zum Wortfeld 'Freude' in der Sprache Homers* (Heidelberg 1966), 83, who starts from the idea of 'Lustbereitung' and via 'Begehren-erweckung' arrives at 'Anziehung, Reiz'. It should be observed (1) that χαίρω has a wider meaning than 'Lust', and (2) that it seems questionable to posit a causative sense as the original one, as is also done by C. Moussy, *Gratia et sa famille* (Paris 1966), 411-2: "La signification première

turn, an attractive human figure, a fine work of art, a song of praise, but also a success, especially a victory in a contest[12]. The Charites make such a victory extra enjoyable by determining its celebration and the resulting fame[13]. Pindar further believes that fame becomes permanent and a victory real only by being fixed in a song. Such a song, too, is a χάρις[14], so that ultimately the χάρις of victory coincides with the χάρις of poetry. This coincidence is symbolized by the fact that the celebration of the victor, and especially the performance of the song of praise, falls under the patronage of the Charites (*O.* 4, 9, *O.* 14, 15-20).

A special occasion to exercise this patronage arose when the celebration of a victor took place at Orchomenus, where the Charites were worshipped, probably as powers of fertility[15]. Pindar, however, touches on this aspect only to give it an artistic turn[16]. It is true that the central theme of *O.* 14 is the celebration of the victor, but the mention of Apollo (11) and the epithets φιλησίμολπε (14) and ἐρασίμολπε (16) suggest that the poet attached more importance to the χάρις of his own composition than to that of the victory. It is significant that the name of the victor is not mentioned before v. 17 and that the name of the contest (foot-race) is passed over in silence. The poem is a hymn to the Charites combined with a victory ode, but in spite of its beauty the balance of the composition is disturbed by the predominance of the first element[17].

Composition

The prominence of the Charites in this ode does not automatically imply the poetic unity of the composition, as is suggested by Bowra, 325. The role played by the goddesses in the victory is indicated only indirect-

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de χάρις est donc 'ce qui provoque de la joie', 'ce qui procure du plaisir' ". Cf. also M. Rocchi, *Contributi allo studio delle Charites*, I, St. Clas. 18 (1979), 5 ff., whose analysis of χάρις is vitiated, however, by the adoption of the idea advanced by M. Mauss that it implies the notion of reciprocity: e.g. the Charites are said to be connected with Aphrodite "perchè creano ... il rapporto che è l'amore" (9), "la dea Charis, moglie di Hephaistos e di Hypnos, rappresenta in Omero proprio la riconoscenza per un favore avuto" (14), and "le feste sono esse stesso doni oggetto di scambio e occazioni in cui i participanti portano e ricevono qualcosa" (14).

[12] Cf. *O.* 6, 76, *O.* 7, 93, *O.* 8, 57, *P.* 5, 102. That in such cases χάρις is virtually equivalent to χάρμα appears from *P.* 8, 64, where a victory is called μέγιστον χαρμάτων. Cf. also *N.* 3, 76-9 χαῖρε, φίλος ἐγὼ τόδε τοι πέμπω ... πόμ' ἀοίδιμον, where χαῖρε has a more active meaning than 'greeting' (Bowra). Viljoen (47) wrongly speaks of "die sierlikheid [gracefulness] van die prestasie".

[13] Cf. *O.* 2, 50-1, *N.* 5, 54. See further Gund., 30 ff., Duchemin, 58 ff., Gianotti, 75 ff.

[14] Cf. *O.* 10, 94, *I.* 3-4, 90. In this case, too, χάρις is equivalent to χάρμα: cf. *I.* 5, 54. Gund. (44) speaks of "der Dank, den die Dichtung zu entrichten hat", but this applies only to special cases such as *P.* 5, 43-4.

[15] See below, on 4 ἐπίσκοποι.

[16] See below, on 15 Θαλία.

[17] Cf. Meyer, *Hymnische Stilelemente* (above, n. 9), 63.

ly (see notes on 15 Θαλία, 20 σεῦ, 24 ἐστεφάνωσε), and the last five lines give the impression of being a kind of appendix. Other attempts to find a unifying element or a balance in the poem have equally failed[18]. The obvious conclusion is that such attempts should be abandoned.

Commentary

1: **Καφισίων.** Fenn. suggests that the temple of the Charites at Orchomenus was on the banks of the Cephisus, but the Charites were connected with the spring Acidalia (fr. 244 and Wil., 154 n. 1), not with the Cephisus. The river is mentioned first, because it determines the site of the city: cf. *O.* 2, 10, *O.* 13, 61, *P.* 12, 3, Thgn. 785, Eur. *Med.* 846.

1: **ὑδάτων.** A partitive genitive with λαχοῖσαι: cf. *I.* 8, 64, *Pae.* 4, 53, K.G. I, 349-50. Me., Fenn., Bo., Gal., Wüst (91) take the genitive with ἕδραν, but Ruijgh (984) points out that a comma should be put before αἵ τε.

Lines 1-3 are a good example of the 'Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder': cf. Kambylis (below, on 13 ὦ), 177-9.

2: **λαχοῖσαι, αἵτε ναίετε.** For the parechesis see note on *O.* 7, 89.

2: **λαχοῖσαι.** For the participle used as a substantive cf. *O.* 10, 20 φύντα, K.G. I, 36, 608-9, Schw. II, 408-9[19]. For the idea that (at the beginning of the reign of Zeus) each god got his λάχος cf *O.* 7, 55-9. Bo. wrongly adopts Boeckh's conjecture λαχοῖσαν. For the use of participles in hymnic invocations cf. *O.* 2, 13, *O.* 5, 18, *P.* 1, 39, and E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig 1913), 166-8[20].

2: **αἵ.** Tur. wrongly adopts Boeckh's ταί: for the shortening of the final diphthong of λαχοῖσαι cf. *P.* 8, 28 καὶ ἀνδράσιν.

2: **τε.** Introduces a specification: cf. Denn., 502 (e) and my note on Hes. *Op.* 3. For the survivals of epic τε in Pindar cf. Denn., 523-4, and my note on *N.* 11, 1, ICS 7, 1 (1982), 17.

2: **ναίετε.** The town protected by a god is his favourite dwelling-place: cf. *P.* 12, 2 (Sicily is) Φερσεφόνας ἕδος.

2: **καλλίπωλον.** Cf. Fr. 333a, 8 πόλιν ἐς 'Ορχομενῶ διώξιππον, S. *O.C.* 668, 677. Dönt (131 n. 15) writes: "Man beachte das Wort καλλίπωλος,

[18] For Norwood's suggestion that 'Moving Waters' is the symbol of the poem see below, on 12 ἀέναον. R. Nierhaus, *Strophe und Inhalt im pindarischen Epinikion* (Berlin 1936), 58 n. 13, thinks that the poem is "durch die Strophengrenze inhaltlich in zwei Hälften zerlegt", but the first half of the antistrophe is still concerned with the Charites. For the theories of Osmun, Newman, Gervais, and Dönt see notes on 5 τερπνά, 15 ἐπακοοῖτε, 16 ἰδοῖσα, 17 γάρ, 21 Φερσεφόνας, 23 Πίσας.

[19] See also my notes on Pl. *Phdr.* 249 b 7, Mnem. IV 8 (1955), 280, *Meno* 82 b 10, Mnem. IV 10 (1957), 295, 81 d 2, Mnem. IV 17 (1964), 268, Callin. 1, 15, Mnem. IV 25 (1972), 7, Pind. *I.* 2, 38, Mnem. IV 35 (1982), 28, Hes. *Op.* 5, 12, 309.

[20] For more hymnic elements in this ode cf. Meyer (above, n. 9), 63.

welches hier als ἅπαξ λ. bei Pindar steht; sonst wird verwendet: εὔιππος ... διώξιππος ... ἱπποτρόφος ...''. It should be added, however, that **καλός** in this context does not have a purely aesthetic connotation, but means 'of fine quality': see note on *O.* 3, 23 **καλά**.

2: **ἕδραν.** 'Dwelling-place', 'town': see note on *O.* 7, 76.

3: **ὦ.** Cf. A. Kambylis, *Anredeformen bei Pindar*, in Χάρις *K.I.* Βουρβέρῃ (Athens 1964), 95-199, espec. 187, where he concludes ''dass ὦ ursprünglich auch in der literarischen Anrede nichts anderes bedeutete als Betonung, Nachdruck, also Intensivierung, Verstärkung des Inhalts des Anredeworts''. See also my note on Hes. *Op.* 27.

3: **λιπαρᾶς.** Not 'salbenglänzend' (Schad.), 'bright, radiant' (Slater, Le.), or sunlit' (Conw.), but 'rich' (Farn.): cf. LSJ V. Orchomenus was famous for its prosperity: cf. Hom. I 381 and *KP* IV, 330. 43 ff.

3: **ἀοίδιμοι.** 'Much sung of', 'famous', like Delphi (*P.* 8, 59) and Athens (fr. 76). The epithet is purely conventional and cannot be asumed to prepare 5 **κλῦτε**, as is suggested by Schwenn, 160. Me., Bo., Latt., Wüst (89, 91) take ἀοίδιμοι βασίλειαι to mean 'queens of song'[21], but this is open to the following objections: (1) 'Queens of Orchomenus' is more natural than 'Charites of Orchomenus'[22]. (2) I do not know of βασίλεια or βασιλεύς used in the sense of 'patron'. (3) Even if ἀοίδιμος at *N.* 3, 79 and *Pae.* 6, 6 has the active meaning of 'rich in songs', this does not constitute a parallel for the translation 'of song'. We might translate ἀοίδιμοι by 'rich in song' (so Scheliha, 93), but the Charites are invoked here as goddesses of Orchomenus, not as goddesses of song; only at 5 ff. their function as patrons of song comes into play.

3: **βασίλειαι.** Not 'royal' (Fenn. 'queen-graces'; similarly Scheliha, 93), but 'tutelary goddesses': cf. Hdt. IV 127, 4 **Ἱστίην τὴν Σκυθέων βασίλειαν**, IV 33, 5 **ἐπεὰν θύωσι Ἀρτέμιδι βασιληΐῃ**. Gianotti (74) may be right in suggesting that βασίλειαι was a cultic epithet.

4: **Χάριτες Ὀρχομενοῦ.** For the late, and hence emphatic, position of the names cf. e.g. *O.* 10, 30, *O.* 13, 14-7, and Dorns., *P.S.*, 107-8.

4: **Ὀρχομενοῦ.** Some editors (and Slater) read Ἐρχομενοῦ, but Pindar wrote his poems for the whole Greek world, and the form with O was generally known from Homer (B 511, 605, I 381).

Gianotti (73) observes that the topographical indication ''come negli *Inni Omerici* di minore ampiezza, sostistuisce la storia della nascita e della prime manifestazioni divine''.

4: **παλαιγόνων.** Sounds more solemn than παλαιῶν.

[21] Similarly Radt, 107-8.

[22] Although Orchomenus is called 'the town of the Charites' (*P.* 12, 26), Latt.'s 'queens of song and queens of shining Orchomenos' is obviously impossible.

4: **Μινυᾶν.** The ancient inhabitants of the area round Orchomenus, who were famous for their richness: cf. Hom. B 511, λ 284, and Rocchi (above, n. 11), 12.

4: **ἐπίσκοποι.** 'Tutelary gods': cf. Sol. 3 D. = 4 W., 3-4 ἐπίσκοπος Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη and LSJ I; see also note on *O.* 7, 11 ἐποπτεύει. For the cult of the Charites in Orchomenus cf. *KP* I, 1136.7 ff., G. J. te Riele, *Charitesia*, in: *Miscellanea tragica in honorem J. C. Kamerbeek* (Amsterdam 1976), 285-91, espec. 287, Rocchi, *art.cit.*, 13-5, who is wrong, however, in thinking that "con loro si dava infatti un fundamento divino al diritto di ricevere tributi in nome della regola per cui il dono va obbligatoriamente a chi è superiore" (13). Scheliha (95) is equally wrong in suggesting that the Charites, who originally were goddesses of fertility (see below, n. 41), changed their character when Orchomenus had become a prosperous city, and became patrons of arts and crafts: "schon in der Ilias ist daher Charis die Gattin des Hephaist... Charis bedeutet nun ... die Freude, die von einem schönen Gegenstand ausgeht". We have seen above (pp. 105-6) that χάρις is such a wide notion that its various aspects may have coexisted during the centuries. See further Farnell, *Cults* V, 427-31; F. W. Hamdorf, *Griechische Kultpersonifikationen der vorhellenistischen Zeit* (Mainz 1964), 45-6.

5: **κλῦτε.** 'Give ear to' (my prayer). In archaic Greek, the imperative of this verb is addressed only to gods, as has been observed by J. Kerschensteiner, Hermes 79 (1944), 153 n. 1.

5: **εὔχομαι.** That the first person refers to the poet, not to the chorus, has been shown by M. Lefkowitz, HSCP 67 (1963), 195 ff., espec. 202-3. What the poet is praying for has to be deduced from the next sentence, where γάρ motivates the contents of the prayer: the poet asks the Charites to make the performance of his song τερπνὸν καὶ γλυκύ to the audience, i.e. successful. For the egocentric connotation of εὔχομαι see note on *O.* 12, 1 λίσσομαι.

5: **σύν.** See note on *O.* 3, 35.

Nierhaus (above, n. 18), 33-4 n. 23, considers vv. 5-7 to be the gnomic element of the ode, but the lines rather serve to define the power of the Charites, and as such belong to the hymnic element.

5: **τά τε.** Bo. does not add τε and omits ἐν at 17. But (1) C has τερπνά τε καί, and (2) τρόπῳ does not simply mean 'manner', but refers to a musical mode, and in that case the addition of a preposition seems to be more appropriate: cf. 17 Λυδῷ...ἐν τρόπῳ, *O.* 10, 77 τὸν ἐγκώμιον ἀμφὶ τρόπον, *N.* 4, 45 Λυδίᾳ σὺν ἁρμονίᾳ. B. A. van Groningen, Mnemos. III 10 (1942), 223, proposes to read Ἀσώπιχ' ἐν, but (1) an absolute use of ἀείδων after a vocative seems to me unlikely, and (2) when Pindar con-

nects ἕκατι with persons these are always gods (e.g. *O.* 4, 9 Χαρίτων ἕκατι; cf. Wüst, 92).

5: **τερπνά.** Cf. *O.* 9, 27 κεῖναι (the Charites) γὰρ ὤπασαν τὰ τερπνά. Carne-Ross (187) wrongly thinks that this word is "supposed to refer primarily to athletic victory". It may equally refer to the pleasant effect of song (e.g. Hom. I 186, 189, α 347, θ 45, χ 330, Sappho 160, *O.* 9, 28 quoted above, *I.* 4, 73 τερπνὰν ἐπιστάζων χάριν), and generally to any pleasant effect. Gild. suggests that "τὸ τερπνόν is the transient diversion, and τὸ γλυκύ the immanent sweetness". This idea has been elaborated by Osmun (7): "There is in the poem a kind of paradox—the suggestion that the prizes of the Graces are transient, whereas, on the other hand, true *areta* endures beyond the grave". But (1) *P.* 10, 19-21 τῶν δ' ἐν Ἑλλάδι τερπνῶν/λαχόντες οὐκ ὀλίγον δόσιν, μὴ φθονεραῖς ἐκ θεῶν/ μετατροπίαις ἐπικύρσαιεν shows that τερπνός in itself does not imply the idea of transience (cf. also *O.* 13, 115 Ζεῦ τέλει', αἰδῶ δίδοι καὶ τύχαν τερπνῶν γλυκεῖαν). (2) According to Pindar, the function of poetry is to make the glory of victory permanent (e.g. *O.* 4, 10, *N.* 4, 6-8, *N.* 7, 12-6, *I.* 7, 16-9), and *O.* 9, 25-7 implies that the Charites help to make such a glory a permanent joy.

5: **καί.** T. C. W. Stinton, CQ N.S. 27 (1977), 60 n. 75, gives more examples of pre- and postpositive links across period-end in Pindar. Cf. also Radt, 19-20, D. Young, GRBS 7 (1966), 12-3.

6: **γλυκέα.** For the combination with τερπνά cf. *O.* 10, 93-4, *O.* 13, 115; for the connection with χάρις, *O.* 1, 18-9, *O.* 10, 94. See also note on *O.* 7, 8 γλυκύν.

6: **γίνεται.** The reading γλυκέ' ἄνεται, adopted by Gild., Wil. (*Versk.*, 314), Pu., Bo., Sn.M., Gal., Duchemin, 77 (who calls it a "restitution certaine"), Le., Dönt, 132, is an unnecessary emendation: for the resolved choriambus cf. e.g. *P.* 11, 9 θέμιν ἱεράν.

7: **εἰ.** Schwenn (161) writes: "Nicht etwa dass die Chariten selber die 'Sophia' schaffen, wie die Scholien (7.8a) und Neuere annehmen—sie helfen nur dem 'Sophos' zum 'erfreuenden' und 'süssen' Gelingen"[23]. But σοφός, καλός, ἀγλαός are pleasant qualities in themselves, and Pindar does not draw a sharp distinction between a success as such and the charm which emanates from it; he therefore can say that 'Charis produces all delightful things' (*O.* 1, 30) and can call his song 'the exquisite product of the Charites' (*I.* 8, 16)[24]. Gianotti (71 n. 111) rightly observes

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[23] Similarly Bowra, 30, D. Ebener, *Griechische Lyrik* (Berlin-Weimar 1976), 200: 'falls ein Sterblicher weise nur ist', Dönt, 132.

[24] At *O.* 9, 28 δέ has explanatory (specifying) force. Bowra (30) wrongly translates it by 'but' and concludes that Pindar "sees that what the Graces give him, the beauty and the enchantment of song, differs from σοφία".

that the Charites are never explicitly said to grant the victory as such (as is maintained by Duchemin, 56), but only to make it glorious. On the other hand, Pindar uses χάρις for 'victory' at *O.* 8, 57.

7: **σοφός.** Not 'wise' but 'skilled': see note on *O.* 7, 53 σοφία. Pindar primarily thinks of poets and singers, just as at *O.* 1, 9 and 116, *O.* 2, 86, *P.* 1, 12, *P.* 4, 248, *P.* 10, 22, *P.* 6, 49, *N.* 7, 23[25]. He does not refrain from professing his wisdom[26], but his self-consciousness seems to concentrate on his artistic skill. This appears e.g. from *P.* 1, 12 θέλγει σοφίᾳ, *N.* 4, 2-3 αἱ δὲ σοφαὶ Μοισᾶν θύγατρες ἀοιδαὶ θέλξαν νιν, *P.* 3, 113-4 ἐπέων κελαδεννῶν, τέκτονες οἷα σοφοὶ ἅρμοσαν, fr. 194, 2-3 τειχίζωμεν ἤδη ποικίλον κόσμον αὐδάεντα λόγων. See further my remarks in Mnem. IV 36 (1983), 21[27].

7: **εἰ καλός.** For the repetition of εἰ cf. Bowra, 206-7. For the emphatic force of the asyndeton cf. Fehling, 206. Deichgräber (32) is certainly wrong in suggesting that καλός includes moral virtue: "vertritt er in Ehren sein Geschlecht im Wettkampf" (similarly We. 'edler Gesinnung'). Physical beauty belonged to the ideal of male excellence: cf. e.g. *O.* 8, 19, *O.* 9, 101, *O.* 10, 103, *N.* 3, 182, and see my note on *N.* 11, 12 θαητόν, ICS 7, 1 (1982), 23.

7: **τις.** Used ἀπὸ κοινοῦ: cf. my note on Semon. 7, 95, Mnem. IV 21 (1968), 152. Translators take τις (or τις ἀνήρ) to be the subject of the sentence, but we may equally well, and perhaps more probably, take ἀνήρ as the subject and τις as reinforcing the three adjectives: cf. *O.* 10, 22 παῦροί τινες, *N.* 3, 32 γλυκύ τι, Hom. ρ 449 τις θαρσαλέος, *H.Ap.* 67 τινά ... ἀτάσθαλον, K.G. I, 663-4, Schw. II, 215, LSJ A II 8, and my notes on Pl. *Phdr.* 228 b 5, Mnem. IV 8 (1955), 266, *Meno* 72 a 6, Mnem. IV 17 (1964), 263, *Phd.* 109 b 2, Mnem. IV 31 (1978), 95, Hes. *Op.* 105 and 113.

7: **ἀγλαός.** 'Illustrious', not on account of corporeal beauty (Carne-Ross, 187-8, and Miller, 228 n. 14), but as a victor[28]. For ἀγλαία 'vic-

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[25] C. del Grande, *Filologia minore* (Milan-Napels 1956), 117, concludes from the order σοφός ... καλός ... ἀγλαός that Pindar, just as Xenophanes, rated poetry higher than athletics, but there does not seem to be explicit evidence for this idea in Pindar.

[26] Cf. my remarks in Mnem. IV 36 (1983), 35.

[27] Gund. (47) may be right in assuming Pindar's σοφία to include worldly wisdom (similarly van Groningen, 244), but the technical aspect predominates in the poet's self-expression. Maehler (94) observes that Pindar calls his song the product of his φρήν (*O.* 2, 90, *O.* 7, 8, *O.* 10, 2) and that he speaks of his φροντίς (*N.* 10, 22) and his σοφαὶ πραπίδες (*O.* 11, 10). He concludes that Pindar's σοφία has a "Bezug auf geistige Fähigkeit". But this intellectual capacity mainly bears on his technical skill. See further Gianotti, 85 ff., 98 ff., who rightly observes that the context of *O.* 1, 116 σοφίᾳ refers to the technique of composition. Cf. also B. Gladigow, *Sophia und Kosmos* (Hildesheim 1965), 39 ff., F. Maier, *Der σοφός-Begriff* (Ausgsburg 1970), 73 ff.

[28] Scheliha's comment, "es muss auf seinem Leben und Tun ein festlicher Glanz liegen, so dass er gesehen und angesehen, gerühmt und vor allem besungen wird", is

tory' cf. *O.* 13, 14, *P.* 6, 46, *P.* 10, 28, *N.* 1, 13, *I.* 2, 18. Wüst (93) rightly observes that the Charites establish a special tie between the victor and the poet: see below, on 15 **Θαλία**.

8-12. Me. (314) rightly remarks: "Was von ihrem Walten im Olymp gesagt ist, vertritt gewissermassen die Stelle des Mythus". The purpose of this 'myth' is to emphasize the divine character of the Charites, which enhances their activities on earth as described in the antistrophe.

8: οὐδέ. Tur. keeps οὔτε of the MSS., but this cannot be construed. We might think of the fact that a first οὔτε is sometimes omitted[29], but in the present case γάρ shows that a whole clause has to be understood: 'not only in the human world all enjoyable things are given by the Charites'. For the confusion of δέ and τε in MSS. cf. Schr., *Prol.*, 9-10.

8: σεμνᾶν. Used as an epithet of the Charites also at fr. 95, 4 (and probably at *Pae.* 3, 2), E. *Hel.* 1341. W. Fauth (*KP* I, 1136.17 ff.) suggests that it has a chthonic implication, but the fact that it is also used of Thetis (*N.* 5, 25) shows that it may have a purely conventional meaning. This does not imply that it is otiose: just as Charis is called αἰδοία at *O.* 6, 76, the Charites are respected by men, especially the inhabitants of Orchomenus, and gods[30].

Gild. reads ἁγνᾶν "to save the metre", but for the synizesis of θεοῖ and the resolved first syllable of the glyconic see below, on 20 **μελαντειχέα**.

8: Χαρίτων. The transition from the second person to the third person (or conversely, as e.g. Hes. *Op.* 9) is characteristic of the hymnic style: cf. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 163, 349-50.

8: ἄτερ. The antithetic construction (σὺν ... οὐδὲ ... ἄτερ) belongs to the hymnic style: cf. *N.* 7, 2-6, A. *Ag.* 1448-9, Norden, *op.cit.*, 157, 159 n. 1. For the double negative cf. *P.* 5, 76 οὐ θεῶν ἄτερ, and W. H. Race, TAPA 113 (1983), 111.

9: κοιρανέοντι. 'Arrange': cf. Hom. B 207 κοιρανέων δίεπε στρατόν, and Dutch 'beheren'.

9: χορούς. For the omission of the first οὔτε cf. n. 29.

9: δαῖτας. Miller (232 n. 33) assumes "a kind of *Hysteron proteron*: first food and drink, then musical entertainment", but music need not follow on a banquet, and a banquet need not be followed by music.

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misleading because the lustre is the result, not the cause, of being admired and praised. M. Treu, Stud.Gen. 18 (1956), 83 ff., argues that from Homer to Pindar words for 'light' become increasingly abstract. It should be added that in Pindar 'illustrious' is still a form of an all-embracing light: cf. *O.* 1, 83 and see note on 7, 92 μὴ κρύπτε.

[29] Cf. Denn., 511. His statement, "Where a negative precedes, as in Pi. *O.* 14.8, S.*Aj.* 1233, *Ant.* 267, *OT* 239 ...", is rather confusing, for in our passage no negative precedes.

[30] Gal. wrongly assumes a contrast between σεμνᾶν and χορούς (and between σέβοντι and κοῦφα). It is not correct either to say that Pindar "*Schritt für Schritt* (my italics) von ihrer Wirkungssphäre auf Erden zu dem höchsten Bereich ihres Wirkens — bei den Göttern im Himmel — aufsteigt" (Dönt, 131).

9: πάντων. Schwenn (162) points out that this extension of their power has been prepared by Hesiod, *Th.* 907 ff., where they are said to be born after the Horai and the Moirai, and by *H. Aphr.* 95-6, where they are said to 'accompany all the gods'. Scheliha (101-2) observes that this elevation corresponds to Pindar's conviction that the gods cannot be wild or rude.

9: ταμίαι. Cf. *O.* 13, 7 Δίκα καὶ ὁμότροφος Εἰρήνα, τάμι' ἀνδράσι πλούτου, *I.* 6, 57-8 ταμίας κώμων.

10: ἔργων. Not 'things' (Pu., We., Le.) or 'works' (Dorns., Slater, Gianotti, 72[31]), but 'practical activities': cf. *P.* 5, 119 ἐπ' ἔργοισιν ἀμφί τε βουλαῖς, Hom. Π 120 ἔργα θεῶν.

10: χρυσότοξον. For gold as a characteristic quality of the possessions of the gods see notes on *O.* 3, 19 and 42, *O.* 7, 32.

Gervais (453-4) combats the view of L. Laurand, *Manuel des études grecques et latines*, II (Paris 1946), 137, that Pindar's style "est d'une extraordinaire *richesse de coloris*", by observing that this poem contains only two colour terms (the present χρυσότοξον and 20 μελαντειχέα), and that in Pindar's poetry lines are more important than colours: "quelques couleurs largement distribuées sur des surfaces aux contours très précis, très nets". This is true[32]: cf. Dorns. *P.S.*, 43, E. des Places, *Pindare et Platon* (Paris 1949), ch. VI: 'Lignes et couleurs', espec. 77 (where he is wrong, however, in maintaining: "Pindare n'a fait que suivre l'exemple de l'art de son temps"), Duchemin, 193 ff., Fogelmark, 15 ff., who rightly observes (29-30) that the force of μελαντειχέα is metaphorical (suggesting gloom[33]) rather than visual (the same, of course, applies to χρυσότοξον). It should be added, however, that Laurand continues: "Il fait passer devant nos yeux une suite d'images aussi vives, aussi éblouissantes que possible". This is correct, and it is only misleading to call variety and vividness of imagery "richesse de coloris".

10: θέμεναι. J. Th. Kakridis, Serta Aenip. 3 (Innsbruck 1979), 144-5, suggests that the Charites have to leave the earth in order to reach heaven, and he even concludes (147) "dass der Gang der Chariten aus der trüben Atmosphäre der Erde zu der lichten Höhe des Himmels den Gang des Dichters selbst zu immer geklärteren Formen der Religion widerspiegelt". In this connection he thinks it significant (145) "dass der Dichter nicht von Thronen spricht, die die Chariten auf dem Olympos

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[31] Cf. Gervais, 458: "*travaux*: cela appartient bien aux hommes; Pindare l'applique à l'Olympe". Conw.'s 'rites' is even worse.

[32] Schmid (613) wrongly calls Pindar "der erste Impressionist unter den griechischen Dichtern: nicht um genaue Wiedergabe der Konturen, sondern um Farbenwirkungen ist er bemüht".

[33] Cf. already Hom. B 834 μέλας θάνατος, β 283 μέλαινα κῆρ.

schon früher innehatten; denn erst jetzt setzen sie sich die Throne neben Apollon''. But the fact that they are πάντων ταμίαι in heaven implies that they have there their permanent seats and that they move these near Apollo in special situations. It may be added that Pindar does not speak of, or even suggest, their ''leibhafte Fortbewegung zu immer höheren Tätigkeitsbereichen'' (147).

10: πάρα. They are his πάρεδροι, just as Themis is the πάρεδρος of Zeus (*O.* 8, 21-2)[34] and Eileithyia the πάρεδρος of the Moirai (*N.* 7, 1). For the connection between the Charites and Apollo cf. Farn. *ad.loc.*, Gianotti, 56-7. Apollo is obviously mentioned as the god of song, not as ''god of male beauty'' (Osmun, 7). See further Schwenn, 59 ff., 78, Fogelmark, 61 ff., Anastase, 213 ff., and above, p. 104[35].

11: Πύθιον. Apart from *O.* 6, 59, *P.* 9, 10, *Pae.* 5, 1, Pindar does not pay attention to the Delian Apollo.

11: θρόνους. The possession of a θρόνος implies that they belong to the Olympian pantheon, for the latter was imagined as a council: cf. Hom. Θ 439-43 Οὔλυμπόνδε δίωκε, θεῶν δ' ἐξίκετο θώκους./.../αὐτὸς δὲ χρύσειον ἐπὶ θρόνον εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς/ἕζετο, ε 3. Page on Sappho 1, 1 ποικιλόθρονε points out that the adjectives ending in -θρονος do not refer to cult-statues but indicate the deity's Olympian status[36].

12: ἀέναον. Bo., Sn.M., We., Slater wrongly follow Schr. (cf. *Prol.*, 27) in restoring the Doric form αἰέναον: ''it is only found in one or two inscriptions..., and not in literature'' (Farn.)[37]. For the meaning 'everlasting' cf. *N.* 11, 8-9 ἀενάοις ἐν τραπέζαις, E. *Or.* 1299 Διὸς ἀέναον κράτος. In such cases the word is simply the adjective belonging to ἀεί, the ν probably being associated with the final letter of αἰέν[38]. Consequently, in the present passage we should not look for some connection with 'flowing' or 'water', as is done by Gild., Duchemin (73-4, 260-1), Carne-Ross (190), who refers to 1 ὑδάτων, Norwood (100), who mentions the fact that the name Asopichus is derived from the river Asopus, and concludes: 'The symbol of the ode is Moving Waters'', and Osmun (7),

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[34] Cf. H. Vos, *Θέμις* (Assen 1956), 67 n. 1.

[35] Kakridis (above, on 10 θέμεναι), 146, suggests ''dass bei der Verfassung der Ode Pindars Einbildungskraft so stark von den Chariten in Anspruch genommen war, dass für die Musen kein Platz übrig blieb''. But the main reason of this choice was the fact that the Charites had an important cult in Orchomenus (see above, on 4 ἐπίσκοποι).

[36] For the meaning of these compounds see further D. E. Gerber, ZPE 49 (1982), 4 n. 2.

[37] West seems to me wrong in reading αἰενάου and αἰενάων at Hes. *Op.* 595 and 737. See further H. Seiler in *Lex. frühgr. Ep.*, 177, who refers to Pind. *P.* 9, 88 ὑδάτων ἀὲ μέμναται.

[38] W. Aly, RhM 58 (1913), 58-60 (= E. Heitsch, *Hesiod*, Darmstadt 1966, 89-91), seems to me wrong in taking this use to be a metaphor.

who even refers to the fact that Echo (21) "was enamoured of Narcissus, the son of the river Cephisus"[39]. It is equally wrong to take ἀέναον as an adverb (Fenn., Farn., We.): cf. E. *Or.* 1299 quoted above[40].

12: σέβοντι. Since a "hommage silencieux" (Pu.; cf. Wüst, 89: 'scheuen', Osmun, 7: 'standing in awe only of Zeus' might') seems unlikely, we have to assume (with Schwenn, 163) that they follow the example of the Muses by celebrating Zeus in song (cf. Hes. *Th.* 40, 47, 71-5). This does not imply, however, that music is a "Konstituente von Zeus' Herrschaft" (Wüst, 91, who refers to *P.* 1, 13-4, but that passage says only that the Olympian gods like music), nor that "die Chariten nur dort weilen können, wo Gesittung herrscht [because their mother is Eurynome][41]. Als den Begründer dieser Gesittung feiern sie Zeus" (Scheliha, 102; similarly H. Schwabl, *RE* Suppl. XV, 1280, Dönt, 133, who thinks that they represent "das Freudvolle an der Weltordnung des Zeus"): the fact that Zeus is celebrated by the Charites does not refer to the elements of χάρις in his rule, but to the χάρις of their song, and this is not the sentiment of "dankende Liebe" (Deichgräber, 33), but its captivating beauty, just as the song of the Muses is called ἡδεῖα (Hes. *Th.* 40).

12: Ὀλυμπίοιο. Wüst (94 n. 2) suggests that this implies an indirect homage to Zeus as the god of the Olympic games. Dönt (133) takes a further step by taking the close relation between the Charites with Apollo and with the Olympian Zeus to allude to the close relation between the poet and the Olympic victor. The assumption of such connections is quite arbitrary: the context (10 ἐν οὐρανῷ, 12 πατρός) shows that Ὀλυμπίοιο means 'Olympian', not 'Olympic'.

12: τιμάν. 'Honoured position', 'lordship': cf. *O.* 6, 60, Hom. I 498, LSJ I 2.

13: ὦ. Kambylis (above, on 3 ὦ), 154, observes: "Wir wissen, dass er [Pindar] als erster — und unter den lyrischen Dichtern auch als einziger! — die Partikel ὦ vor dem Vokativ Μοῖσα setzt, was in diesem Fall

[39] There is no limit to his phantasy in constructing associative connections; thus he suggests (8) that "this youthful victory ... must be made permanent. It will be so only if Asopichus becomes a *man: sophos, kalos* and *aglaos*; then his *tima* will continue to be everflowing".

[40] Conw. seems to take ἀέναον τιμάν as an internal object, but neglects the genitive πατρός: 'who with everlasting honour worship the Father'.

[41] Pindar may hint at their descent from Eurynome at *N.* 9, 29-31 μοῖραν εὔνομον ... ἀγλαΐαισιν ἀστυνόμοις, as is pointed out by Deichgräber, 19. A. Motte, *Prairies et jardins de la Grèce antique* (Bruxelles 1973), 89, thinks that the original meaning of Eurynome is 'au large pâturage', but this is hardly appropriate for an Oceanid. Wil. (*Gl.* I, 220-1) suggests 'die Weitwaltende' (cf. Eurynomus, one of Penelope's suitors), but we may also think of νέμω in the sense of 'to dispense' (cf. the Homeric Εὐρυνόμη ταμίη), so that the character of their mother agrees with their character as powers of fertility.

Vertrautheit zeigt''. Cf. *N*. 3, 1 ὦ πότνια Μοῖσα, μᾶτερ ἁμετέρα, and my remarks in Mnem. IV 36 (1983), 41-2.

13: πότνια. W. Fauth (*KP* I, 1136.18) assumes a ''Verwandtschaft mit den eleusinischen Πότνιαι'', but *N*. 3. 1 ὦ πότνια Μοῖσα and *Pae*. 9, 10 ὦ πότνια (ἀκτὶς ἀελίου) show that the meaning is general (cf. Kambylis, 155-6). See also above, on 8 σεμνᾶν.

13: Ἀγλαΐα. Pindar adopts the names of the Charites from Hesiod, *Th*. 909. D. Bremer, *Licht und Dunkel in der frühgriechischen Dichtung* (Bonn 1976), 293, writes: ''Das im Namen Aglaia genannte Moment des Glanzes bezeichnet einen Wesenszug der Huldgöttinnen''. This is misleading, because splendour is but one of the situations in which the Charites manifest themselves[42].

Many commentators assume a correspondence between 7 σοφός ... καλός ... ἀγλαός and the names of the Charites. In that case Thalia must refer to corporeal beauty, but we shall see below (on 15) that her name has a much wider sense. There is a greater difficulty, however, in connecting Euphrosyne with σοφός: εὐφροσύνη always refers to merriment and festivity, never to wisdom or skill (see below, on 14)[43].

14: φιλησίμολπε. Not 'friend of all music' (Farn.; similarly Bo.) but 'loving song and dance', just as φιλόμολπος at *N*. 7, 9. This certainly implies that the poet hopes to please the Charites (Schwenn, 159, Scheliha, 103), but we shall see that he hopes above all that they will make the performance of his song a success. For φιλ- implying the idea of furtherance and protection cf. φιλάμπελος (Ar. *Pax* 308), φιλάνθεμος (E. fr. 896, 1), φίλαυλος (S. *Ant*. 965), φιλόχορος (A. *Pers*. 448, Ar. *Thesm*. 1136).

A Platt, CR 23 (1910), 105-6, discusses the rule that ''when two persons are addressed, connected by τε, the second name is put in the nominative'' (Monro, *Homeric Grammar,* § 164), and concludes that ''the rule appears to have been too subtle for the Boeotian wit'' (cf. also *P*. 11,

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[42] Bremer (292) goes too far when he writes: ''Sie [the Charites] sind der Ursprung des Glanzes dieses Glänzenden, sofern es als Erfreuliches im Licht des Ruhmesliedes versammelt erscheint'': a victory has a splendour of its own as a gift of the Charites, and this splendour is enhanced and made permanent by the victory ode, which is another gift of the Charites.

[43] Wil. (152) admits that this involves an ''etwas gewaltsame Deutung der φρένες''. Deichgräber (33) states: ''Euphrosynes Name ist für den Dichter auch mit φρένες, Verstand, verbunden'', but does not explain the connection between joy and intellect. Scheliha (100) displays some philological juggling: ''Euphrosyne heisst die Fähigkeit des εὖ φρονεῖν, des richtigen Denkens und Empfindens, und daher auch Heiterkeit, nämlich jene innere Heiterkeit, die es nur bei geistigen Menschen gibt''. Del Grande (above, n. 25), 117, even more arbitrarily thinks that Aglaia gives wisdom, Euphrosyne beauty, and Thalia fame.

1 'Ινώ τε ὁμοθάλαμε), but the rule is violated by Homer (e.g. τ 406), and it hardly seems to be a rule at all: cf. Schw. II, 63, Kambylis, 135 ff.

14: Εὐφροσύνα. Not 'Delight' (Bowra, 391) but 'merriment', 'good cheer', usually connected with festivity, e.g. Hom. ι 5-10, where the sequence οὐ ... χαριέστερον ἤ ... ἐυφροσύνη is especially significant, *H. Herm.* 481-2, Theogn. 776-9, Xenoph. B 1, 4. Pindar may think especially of festive songs, just as at *N.* 4, 1-3[44].

15: ἐπακουοῖτε. The common emendation ἐπακοοῖτε (for which there is no convincing parallel: cf. Schw. I, 458) does not seem necessary: the υ may be taken as a semivowel, just as at *P.* 8, 35 ἰχνεύων (cf. also *P.* 4, 225 γενύων, Schr., *Prol.*, 27, and West on Hes. *Th.* 15). R. J. Shackle, CR 34 (1920), 85, proposed ἐπάκοοί 'στε, which is supported by the scholia, noticing that a verb such as γένοισθε is missing[45]. But the original corruption may have been based on the idea that a third person singular was needed to be connected with Θαλία.

For ἐπι- expressing an intention cf. Hom. Γ 277 'Ηέλιός θ' ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις, and my notes on Hes. *Op.* 29, 67, 268, 275. The Charites are asked to give ear to the poet's prayer (5). Wil. (151) writes: "die Bitte verlangt nicht mehr als freundliche Annahme der Huldigung [scil. of the goddesses]", but we have seen above that the poet implicitly expresses the wish that the Charites make the performance of his song a success, and this is confirmed by the next words: see below, on 15 Θαλία and 16 ἰδοῖσα. Dönt (129) maintains: "Der glanzvollen Ausrichtung der Festreigen und -mahle im Himmel (V. 8 f.) entspricht in der Aktualität das Anhören und Ansehen des singenden und tanzenden Festzugs durch die Chariten (V. 16 f.)". In her eager to find parallels between strophe and antistrophe (see below, on 16 ἰδοῖσα) she overlooks the fact that the object of ἐπακουοῖτε is not κῶμον but the poet's prayer. In order to support her conclusion (n. 12), "Χορούς und δαῖτας stehen mit κῶμος in enger Verbindung", she refers to Hom. *H. Herm.* 480-3: another instance of her suggestive but careless interpretation.

15: νῦν. Bergk may be right in reading νυν: see note on *O.* 3, 34. The meaning is not purely temporal (Radt on *Pae.* 6, 58: "in diesem Augenblick, da die Bitte ausgesprochen wird"), but rather 'in the present case': see the same note.

15: Θαλία τε. For the 'tmesis' in the construction (wrongly called σχῆμα 'Αλκμανικόν by Schwenn: cf. Schw. II, 612) cf. Kambylis (above,

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[44] Bundy (I, 2) wrongly thinks that there is a contrast between *N.* 4, 1 εὐφροσύνα and 3 ἀοιδαί.

[45] Hermann proposed ἐπάκοοι τὸ νῦν, but an ellipse of the imperative of εἶναι is found in special phrases only: cf. K.G. I, 42.

on 3 ὦ), 176. It seems to lend special emphasis to Thalia: for τε 'and especially' see notes on *O.* 3, 39 and 7, 52. She is not invoked primarily with reference to the flower of youth of Asopichus (Wil., 151-2 and many others[46]) or of the chorus (van Groningen, Mnem. III 10, 1942, 223), but because she "presided especially over feasts" (Gild.; see further Miller, 227-9). It appears from 20 σεῦ ἕκατι that the victory was due to Thalia, and this may allude to the fact that the victor 'flourishes' (*N.* 4, 88 θάλησε, *I.* 5, 17 θάλλοισ' ἀρετά; see also note on *O.* 7, 11 ζωθάλμιος) and makes his city 'flourish' (*O.* 9, 16 θάλλει δ' ἀρεταῖσιν, *N.* 10, 42 θάλησεν). But it does not follow that the ceremony is a simple thanksgiving (as is suggested by Schwenn, 159). There is a prayer (5) and a request to which the Charites are asked to give ear (15), and we have seen that this must refer to the successful performance of the song. It is especially Thalia who will be able to make the song a truly festive song, because she is the personification of festivity (θαλία)[47]. The joy of the victory is not only followed by the joy of a feast, but the two are so closely connected (cf. *O.* 7, 94 σὺν χαρίτεσσιν ἔχει θαλίας, and my note *ad loc.*) that the same divine power is behind them. This power is the spirit of flourishing in the widest possible sense, ranging from agricultural fertility[48] through erotic charm to literary fame[49]. It is a favourite idea in Pindar that the fame of the victor is like a plant which is made ever-flourishing by the song of praise (see note on *O.* 12, 15 κατεφυλλορόησεν), and such a song will equally live on for ever.

16: ἐρασίμολπε. According to Fenn., Gild., Miller (230-1), a climax in comparison with 14 φιλησίμολπε (Miller even translates 'you who crave [i.e., feel physical need] for music'). Fehling (151) compares Hom. K 431 Φρύγες ἱππόμαχοι καὶ Μῄονες ἱπποκορυσταί and Hes. *Th.* 273 Πεμφρηδώ τ' εὔπεπλον Ἐνυώ τε κροκόπεπλον, and concludes: "Das ist an sich natürlich nur Gleichgültigkeit, aber immerhin von Pindar Ol. 14, 14 (φιλησίμολπε—ἐρασίμολπε) unverkennbar gewollt nachgeahmt". The only parallel in Pindar, however, is *P.* 4, 136 Τυροῦς ἐρασιπλοκάμου, so

[46] Scheliha (100, 103) even concludes from 20 σεῦ ἕκατι that only beautiful boys were admitted to the games.

[47] That the Charites were especially associated with feasts appears from Hes. *Th.* 64-5 (for the construction cf. my note in Mnem. IV 25, 1972, 247-8). Cf. also *O.* 10, 76-7 ἀείδετο δὲ πᾶν τέμενος θαλίαις/τὸν ἐγκώμιον ἀμφὶ τρόπον. Dönt (128 n. 7) argues that the fact that all Charites love feasts contradicts my interpretation of Thalia as the personification of festivity: the logic of this objection escapes me.

[48] Cf. Deichgräber, 14 ff., *KP* I, 1135.43 ff. The importance of the vegetative aspect is exaggerated by Duchemin, 75 ff., e.g. 76: "les divinités qui font naître et vivre"; similarly Dönt, 131, and Radt, 134, whose translation of ἀγλαός by 'blühend' seems to me misleading.

[49] Cf. *O.* 9, 27 Χαρίτων νέμομαι κᾶπον, and Anastase, 214: "elles donnent la vie à l'hymne comme elles la donnent à la fleur".

that I prefer to translate 'performing lovely songs and dances' (cf. Hes. *Th.* 65-6, where it is said of the Muses: ἐρατὴν δὲ διὰ στόμα ὄσσαν ἰεῖσαι μέλπονται, and 909, where Thalia is called ἐρατεινή), or even 'making songs and dances lovely': for Pindar's predilection for the use of adjectives in a causative sense see note on *O.* 7, 11 ζωθάλμιος; cf. also below, on 21 κλυτάν.

16: ἰδοῖσα. Not 'who sees' (Pu., Schad., Anastase, 218) or 'when you see' (Dorns., We., Latt.), but 'by looking with favour on' (Fenn., Wüst, 91, Deichgräber, 33, Le.)[50]. For this pregnant use of ὁράω cf. *I.* 2, 18 εἶδε (schol. εὐμενῶς ἐθεάσατο), fr. 75, 8, Bacch. 11, 22. Similarly δέρχομαι (*P.* 3, 85) and ἐποπτεύω (*O.* 7, 11: see my note *ad loc.*). See also below, on 22 ἰδοῖσα.

Dönt (128) adopts the view of a scholiast that the participle refers to the three Charites. She even takes 20 σεῦ in a collective sense, but that is obviously impossible. She finally takes the subject of 24 ἐστεφάνωσε to be the Charites, which after the address to Echo is equally impossible. These forced interpretations are dictated by the wish to establish a parallelism between the strophe and the antistrophe, which entails the necessity of assuming the latter to be, just as the former, an eulogy of the Charites from beginning to end. Even the message brought to Asopichus' father is called by Dönt "the work of the Charites", and she concludes (135) that it forms "ein inhaltlich und formal organischer Teil des Hymnus" (!).

16: κῶμον. It is usually assumed that the song was performed during the procession, but in that case it could hardly have been understood and appreciated by the public. Therefore Scheliha (97) seems to be right in suggesting that the performance took place in front of the temple of the Charites, just as *P.* 11 was performed in the sanctuary of Apollo at Thebes, and *O.* 3 in front of the temple of the Dioscuri at Agrigentum (see notes on *O.* 3, 1 φιλοξείνοις and 6 ἀγλαόκωμον).

16: ἐπί. Most translations are unclear (such as Pu. 'dans la joie du triomphe', Bo. 'after friendly fortune', Latt. 'with fortune favorable', Conw. 'to grace this happy hour'), but they seem to intend either 'with a view to' or 'on account of'. In the former case the phrase ἐπ' εὐμενεῖ τύχᾳ belongs to ἰδοῖσα rather than to βιβῶντα, but τύχα seems inappropriate to denote permanent fame. 'On account of their favourable fortune' may be connected with ἰδοῖσα (as is done by Farn.), but it goes more naturally with κοῦφα βιβῶντα (Dorns., Gal., Le.). For ἐπί 'on account of' cf. K.G. I, 502, LSJ B III 3, J. Gonda, Mnem. IV 10 (1957), 7.

[50] Carne-Ross (191) wrongly explains: "Thalia is told to *look*—as we are told to look—at *this* procession".

16: εὐμενεῖ. Properly said of gods (*P.* 2, 25, *P.* 8, 18) or men, here because success is the manifestation of a divine power: cf. Strohm, 45. The religious background may still be present at Pl. *Leg.* 813 a 6 μετὰ τύχης εὐμενοῦς.

17: κοῦφα. 'Lightly', in the sense of 'easily', 'smoothly' rather than quickly. T. B. L. Webster, *The Greek Chorus* (London 1970), 87, writes: "One would expect that 'moving lightly' implied dance tempo rather than walking tempo, but the syllable count is against this: two lines of 18, one of 16, two of 15, and only three under 12". This argument seems to be based on two misunderstandings, (1) the idea that κοῦφα refers to tempo, and (2) the idea that lines consisting of many syllables are unsuited to dancing. There is a third misunderstanding in Webster's suggestion that κοῦφα may have something to do with "the very smooth movement of the first four lines": the smoothness of the dance is based on the ability of the dancers: cf. *O.* 13, 114 κούφοισιν ἐκνεῦσαι ποσίν, *P.* 9, 11 ἐφαπτομένα χερὶ κούφᾳ, *N.* 8, 19 ἵσταμαι δὴ ποσσὶ κούφοις, Hom. N 158 κοῦφα ποσὶ προβιβάς (rightly explained by Leaf: "κοῦφα seems to indicate the trained hero who can move with ease even beneath his ponderous shield"), Ar. *Thesm.* 954 χώρει κοῦφα ποσίν, *Lys.* 1304 κοῦφα πᾶλον[51].

17: βιβῶντα. Refers to the fact that the dancers are striding rather than jumping. Similarly Pl. *Leg.* 670 b 10 βαίνειν ἐν ῥυθμῷ.

17: Λυδῷ. Similarly *N.* 4 (equally for a boy), 45 Λυδίᾳ σὺν ἁρμονίᾳ. According to Aristotle (*Pol.* 1342 b 30-33), the Lydian harmony is most suited to the age of boyhood διὰ τὸ δύνασθαι κόσμον τ' ἔχειν ἅμα καὶ παιδείαν. W. D. Anderson, *Ethos and Education in Greek Music* (Cambridge, Mass. 1966), 49, 144-5, argues that this passage comes from the hand of an interpolator, but he does not pay sufficient attention to the two Pindaric passages. According to Plato (*Rep.* 398 e 10), the Lydian harmony is considered to be 'slack' (χαλαρά). The meaning of this term is not easy to determine[52], but it hardly leaves room for the assumption that its main characteristic was softness (Me., Gild.) or grace (Pu., We.) or both (Scheliha, 103). Gild. writes that the Lydian mode "was in favorite use for prayers and plaints and consequently well adapted to the close of the poem, in which the dead father of the victor is mentioned". But the close of the poem is far from being a plaint. See further Anderson, *op. cit.*, 48-9, 72-3.

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[51] Osmun (7) produces the following 'structural' fancy: "The expression 'stepping lightly' recalls the adjective *kallipôlon* (2) and the whole metaphor is reminiscent of the description of Paris in *Iliad* 6.506-511".

[52] Adam does not seem to me right in connecting τινες with ἰαστὶ καὶ λυδιστί and translating 'there are also varieties of Lydian and Ionian'.

17: γάρ. F. S. Newman, *Unity in Pindar's Fourteenth Olympian Ode*, RBPh 52 (1974) [15-28][53], 18, observes that the ratio between the number of words of lines 1-17 (down to βιβῶντα) and that of 17-24 is exactly 2:1. But this is not the "major division" of the poem: according to Newman, the first part consists of the invocation of the Charites, but the use of σεῦ at 20 shows that no sharp division can be made between invocation and motivation. Newman's further figures are no less arbitrary and equally worthless for an appreciation of the composition. The whole idea of taking 'word' as a unit and a kind of module is absurd.

17: Ἀσώπιχον. Farnell: "Naming children after rivers was common in early Greece, a custom based on primitive religion (*Cults*, V. p. 423); but such names were always compounds, implying that the child was the gift of the river, *e.g.* Asopodoros, Kephisodotos: here the child is the diminutive incarnation of the river". For rivers as κουροτρόφοι cf. H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes* (Paris 1939), 283 ff., Nilsson, 238, Onians, 229-30, Hamdorf, *Kultpersonifikationen* (above, on 4 ἐπίσκοποι), 13-4, West on Hes. *Th.* 347, T. H. Price, *Kourotrophos: Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities* (Leiden 1978)[54].

Dönt (130) thinks it significant that the river Asopus was said by some authors (*ap.* Apollod. III 11, 6) to be descended from Zeus and Eurynome, just as the Charites (Hes. *Th.* 907), but Pindar's text does not contain the slightest hint at such a connection.

17: ἐν. For the reading see above, on 5 τε. Gildersleeve compares the use of ἐν referring to accompanying instruments (cf. my note on *O.* 7, 12), but the word here denotes the fact that the song lies within the range of a musical mode. Similarly *N.* 10, 28 ἐν Ἀδραστείῳ νόμῳ, *I.* 2, 38 ἐν Πανελλάνων νόμῳ. For the adverbial force of these phrases cf. *O.* 2, 16 ἐν δίκᾳ, LSJ A II 3, and note on *O.* 7, 69 ἐν ἀλαθείᾳ.

17: τρόπῳ. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 35: "Tropos can be largely identified with the kinetic aspect of Harmonia. It thus parallels rhythm, dealing with vertical relationships of pitch between successive notes as rhythm does with horizontal relationships of time. It would be closest of all to Melos"[55].

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[53] Summarized in J. K. Newman and F. S. Newman, *Pindar's Art* (Hildesheim 1984), 99-105.

[54] Cf. also my essay *De adem Gods*, Meded. Kon. Ned. Akad.v.Wet., Lett. N.R. 36:8 (1973), 19-20.

[55] Cf. 220 n. 4: "Better than any single term in English for Tropos is the German *Melodiewendung*". He compares the traditional music of India, which "keeps its development within the bounds of the particular *raga* (rhythmic-melodic pattern) which has been chosen". This seems to support my interpretation of ἐν, and I do not understand why Anderson thinks that his explanation is in accordance with Laloy's comment that Λυδῷ ἐν τρόπῳ must mean 'à la mode de Lydie', not 'dans le mode lydien'.

18: μελέταις. Does not refer to the training of the chorus (Fenn.) but to the careful composition of the text (Nis.'s 'in chosen phrases' is better than Slater's 'among my (poetic) preoccupations'): cf. *N.* 6, 54 ἔχων μελέταν, *I.* 5, 28-9 μελέταν δὲ σοφισταῖς (poets) /Διὸς ἕκατι πρόσβαλον σεβιζόμενοι[56].

18: τε. For the position of τε see note on *O.* 7, 86.

18: ἔμολον. Wil. (151) thinks that Pindar travelled to Orchomenus, but the poet likes to describe the completion of a poem as his arrival at the place where it will be performed: see note on *O.* 7, 13 κατέβαν. Accordingly, ἀείδων does not have desiderative force, as is assumed by We. ('zu feiern') and Conw. ('to praise').

19: Μινύεια. Scil. γῆ, as was pointed out to me by D. E. Gerber, who compared ἡ Λοκρίς (Ar. *Av.* 152, etc.; cf. also ἡ 'Αττική). For the use of γῆ referring to a city (and its surroundings) cf. LSJ II 2 and my note on Hes. *Op.* 162; see also note on *O.* 7, 34 πόλιν. Bo.'s 'the Minyan race' and Conw.'s 'the Minyan house' are less obvious. The word does not seem to be an official name for Orchomenus but rather a reminiscence of Hom. B 511, λ 284 'Ορχομενὸς Μινύειος. Pindar did not choose it in order to distinguish the town from the Arcadian city of the same name (Gild.) but to recall its glorious past: see above, on 4 Μινυᾶν.

20: σεῦ. For ευ equivalent to εο cf. Radt, 79-80. Wüst (92) writes: "Der Singular steht um der variatio willen. ἐπακοοῖτε ... ἰδοῖσα wechselte schon zu ihm über, obwohl alle drei gemeint sind". But we have seen above (on 15 Θαλία) that Thalia is selected for special mention, because she makes the victor 'flourish' in his victory as well as the poet in the successful performance of his song. This double reference can be best expressed by putting a comma after Μινύεια.

20: μελαντειχέα. Tur. adopts Maas' emendation μειλαντειχέα, but if we assume a synizesis in 8 θεοί (Schr., *Prol.*, 29), the correspondence of the metre is set straight. Wil. (*Versk.*, 314 n. 2) takes the line to be an asclepiadeus and thinks the correspondence of θεοὶ σεμν- with -τι μελαντ- so difficult that he concludes: "An solche Stellen gehört das antike Zeichen der Ratlosigkeit, die Alogos". But if we take these words to form the beginning of a glyconic, there is no difficulty in assuming the first syllable to be resolved at 20: cf. e.g. the beginning of *P.* 5, 23, 62, 93, 124, and of *N.* 6, 21, 43 (if νικῶντ' is accepted), 65. We. takes the line to consist of two dochmiacs, which is perhaps an easier solution.

For the walls of Hades cf. Hes. *Th.* 726, 733, and J. Bollack, REG 71 (1958), 22 ff. Carne-Ross (193) writes: "the shadow is needed in order

[56] Wil. (151 n. 1) maintains: "eigentlich nur ὅτι ἄν τις μελετᾷ", but the primary sense of μελέτη is 'care', 'practice'. At *I.* 5, 28 the word does not mean 'a theme of song' (Farn.; similarly Bo., Latt.), but 'the task of preparing (a song)'.

to accent (without any hint of pathos) the brightness of the world of the living''. But this is a traditional idea: cf. Hom. Θ 13 Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα, Hes. *Op.* 153 εὐρώεντα δόμον κρυεροῦ 'Αΐδαο, A. *Pr.* 219-20 Ταρτάρου μελαμβαθὴς κευθμών, S. *O.R.* 29-30 μέλας Ἅιδης, E. *Hipp.* 1388-9 Ἅιδου μέλαινα νύκτερός τ' ἀνάγκα, *Hel.* 518-9 μελαμφαὲς ἔρεβος. For μέλας having the connotation of 'gloomy' see above, n. 33.

20: νῦν, See above, on 15.

21: Φερσεφόνας. Gervais (452-3) sees a parallel between the end of the strophe and that of the antistrophe: ''la première strophe se clôt sur une vision de l'Olympe et de son éternité; la deuxième nous ouvre les portes de l'Hadès et de l'avenir humain. Dans l'un et l'autre cas, la vue s'étend à l'infini dans le temps et dans l'espace. Voilà précisément ce qui confère à l'ode son unité lyrique''. But (1) the idea of temporal infinity is expressed only at 12 ἀέναον, and (2) spatial infinity is found neither in the strophe nor in the antistrophe: on the contrary, both Olympus and Hades are described as enclosures. Gervais' suggestion (453) that there is another parallel between the ''gravité sententieuse'' of lines 8-10 and ''le ton mélancolique'' of 21 is no less arbitrary.

Persephone is mentioned instead of Hades mostly when women are speaking. Pindar here seems to adopt the conception of Hom. κ and λ, where Persephone rather than Hades rules the underworld: cf. Nilsson, 455.

21: ἔλθ'. Maas (*Kleine Schriften*, Munich 1973, 18-9) observes that there is no parallel for –⏑⏑––– instead of –⏑⏑–⏑⏑– and proposes to read ἔσιθ' (cf. *P.* 10, 32 δώματ' ἐσελθών). Bo., Gal. and Tur. read ἴθι, Fenn., Gild., and Wil. (*Versk.*, 314) read ἔλθε and κοιρανέοισιν at 9 (for the hiatus before a proper name cf. Schr., *Prol.*, 14). But it is well-known that Pindar takes some liberties with regard to metrical correspondence when proper names are concerned. This excuse applies to our passage, where the licence does not occur in a proper name, but in a word put between two proper names.

21: 'Αχοῖ. Not 'rumour' (LSJ), but 'echo' in the strict sense of the word. On the other hand, it is misleading to say that ''von den Klängen der Oberwelt höchstens ein Widerhall in den Hades dringt'' (Wil., 152), for Echo is charged with a very precise report[57].

Fenn. (followed by Gild., Gal., Nis.) thinks that ''she is mythically connected with Orchomenos by her passion for Narkissos son of Kephisos'', but this story is told by Ovid (*Met.* 3, 339 ff.), and ''the connexion with Echo may be his own invention'' (Rose, *Handbook of Greek*

[57] Osmun's comment (7), ''Echo suggests both speed and impermanence. The flow of the rivers carries out this theme'', is quite beside the mark.

Mythology, 178 n. 14). There does not seem to have existed a cult of Echo, so that the personification is commonly assumed to be Pindar's invention, just as Aggelia at *O.* 8, 82 (cf. Bowra, 85). Fenn. also compares S. *El.* 1066-9 ὦ χθονία βροτοῖσι φάμα, κατά μοι βόασον οἰκτρὰν ὄπα τοῖς ἔνερθ' Ἀτρείδαις, but there, as Jebb notes, "φάμα rather hovers on the verge of personification than is actually personified", as it is embodied in the voice of the speakers (Kamerbeek). Pindar's personification of Echo and Aggelia verges on mannerism.

21: πατρὶ ... ἀγγελίαν. Just as *O.* 8, 77-84, *P.* 5, 96-102, *N.* 4, 85-6, this is a special form of the topos of the tie between father and son (cf. e.g. *O.* 7, 17, *P.* 6, 15, *N.* 4, 13-6, *N.* 7, 91, *N.* 11, 11; see also Gund. 15) rather than of the theme of world-wide renown (as is held by A. Köhnken, Glotta 54. 1976, 67 n. 15)[58].

21: κλυτάν. Not 'loud' (Fenn.) or 'clear' (Latt.; cf. Scheliha, 94: 'mündliche Botschaft'), but 'glorious' with the causative overtone of 'glorifying': cf. *O.* 1, 105 κλυταῖσι ὕμνων πτυχαῖς, *P.* 10, 6 κλυτὰν ὄπα, *I.* 2, 2 κλυτᾷ φόρμιγγι, *I.* 7, 19 κλυτῶν ἐπέων, and see above, on 16 ἐρασίμολπε. The assonance κλυτὰν ... Κλεόδαμον may be intentional, as is pointed out by Barkhuizen, 53: the success of the son reflects the meaning of his father's name, viz. 'glory to the city'.

21: φέροισα. Barkhuizen (63) argues that there is a contrast between Φερσεφόνας ('she who brings death') and Echo who brings glorious news. Persephone, however, receives the dead (cf. fr. 133, 2 δέξεται) rather than that she brings death, and Barkhuizen himself admits that *I.* 8, 50 φόνῳ ... 55 Φερσεφόνας does not necessarily imply an association.

22: ἰδοῖσα. Not 'when you see him' (most translators), but 'looking at him with favour': cf. above, on 16 ἰδοῖσα.

22: υἱὸν ... οἱ. Del Grande (above, n. 25), 116-7, suggests that this may be a reminiscence of Hom. λ 540 γηθοσύνῃ ὅ οἱ υἱὸν ἔφην ἀριδείκετον εἶναι. Fenn. takes οἱ as a dative of interest, but his paraphrase, "in honor of Kleodamos", goes too far.

22: νέαν. Cf. J. Th. Kakridis, WS N.F. 10 (1976), 43: "Das Attribut ist von seinem Substantiv durch acht Wörter getrennt ... Was Pindar dadurch bezweckte, war, das Beiwort, das sich auf die Jugend des Siegers bezog, durch den ganzen Satz frei schweben zu lassen, bis endlich das

[58] Gervais (456) even thinks: "on devine le grand désir d'immortalité que Pindare peut à peine déguiser". A still more far-fetched interpretation has been proposed by Miller (231 ff.), who suggests that "fortified and consoled by the good things that she [Thalia] dispenses, music and merriment, food and wine, Asopichos and his family and friends may come to face the unalterable reality of death with stronger hearts and calmer spirits" (234). It seems to me superfluous to analyse the muddled argument which leads up to this conclusion.

Nomen χαίταν erklingt. Denn wenn ein Substantiv und sein Attribut nebeneinander stehen, dann verschmelzen sie zu einem Begriff, während durch das Hyperbaton jedes Wort seine Kraft unvermindert bewahrt''. See further note on *O.* 12, 6a ἐλπίδες.

23: κόλποις. 'Valley' (LSJ III 3). For the amplifying force of the plural see note on *O.* 3, 6 στέφανοι.

23: παρά. One expects ἐν, but κόλποις may include, and especially refer to, the basin of the river: cf. *O.* 1, 20 παρ' Ἀλφεῷ, *O.* 7, 15 παρ' Ἀλφειῷ.

23: εὐδόξοις. Osmun (8) rightly observes that this "points up the importance of Asopichus' victory", but wrongly concludes that "both places [Orchomenus and Olympia] have gained fame from Asopichus' feat".

23: Πίσας. See note on *O.* 3, 9. Dönt (129-30) writes: "Der Nennung des olympischen Vaters Zeus, welcher zugleich Festgott von Olympia ist, am Ende der ersten Strophe ordnet sich die Nennung des Siegesortes Olympia am Ende der zweiten Strophe zu". I can only repeat that such 'parallels' are too superficial to have any structural significance. The hunt for parallels reveals itself as a mania when Dönt (130) further compares 12 πατρός and 21 πατρί.

24: ἐστεφάνωσε. Not scil. Thalia (Dorns., Pu., We., and others)[59], but 'has his hair crowned'. Gild. thinks that the active is used instead of the middle (for which cf. my note on *O.* 7, 15 στεφανωσάμενον), as χαίταν is equivalent to ἓ αὐτόν, but (1) Pindar sometimes uses the active instead of the middle without special reason (see note on *O.* 3, 25 πορεύεν), and (2) the active in itself may express the idea of having something done: cf. Pl. *Prot.* 324 d 4 τοὺς αὐτῶν ὑεῖς διδάσκουσιν ἃ διδασκάλων ἔχεται, K.G.I, 99-100. Fenn. (followed by Osmun, 8) is certainly wrong in suggesting that "the active is justified by it being said to be in his father's honor that he crowns his locks", for the victor cannot be assumed to crown himself[60].

24: κυδίμων. Cf. above, on 23 εὐδόξοις, and see next note. For a possibly causative overtone cf. above, on 16 ἐρασίμολπε. A similar ambiguity may be present in *I.* 3, 1 εὐδόξοις ἀέθλοις.

24: ἀέθλων. 'Games' rather than 'prizes': cf. *O.* 3, 21 μεγάλων ἀέθλων, *O.* 4, 4 ὑψηλοτάτων ἀέθλων, *P.* 5, 53 ἀγλαῶν ἀέθλων, *N.* 6, 12 ἐρατῶν ἀέθλων.

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59 And certainly not the Ἑλλανοδίκας (cf. *O.* 3, 12), as is suggested by Schr., followed by E. Fraenkel, Belf. 27 (1972), 91.

60 Wüst (92) writes: "Der Sieger wird in der typischen Haltung des ἀναδούμενος vorgestellt, wie er aus der bildenden Kunst bekannt ist", but this attitude seems to be an artistic compromise.

24: πτεροῖσι. Cf. *P.* 9, 125 πτερὰ νικᾶν and Schroeder *ad loc.*: "An flatternde Binden zu denken verbietet sich seit Wolfg. Passow, Stud. z. Parth. (Philol. Unters. XVII 1902), 1 ff. ... Man hat nicht an bewegte Fittiche zu denken, sondern an das πτέρωμα des Pfeiles (Aesch. fr. 139), des Pfluges (Tsetz. Lycophr. 1396), des Tempels. Alle diese πτερά sind starr, nicht anders als die 'gefiederten' Blätter eines Akazienzweiges, so benannt nach dem Bau jeder einzelnen Feder. Und nicht anders zeichnen den Kranz die griechischen Vasenmaler. Also 'das stolze Siegesgefieder' flocht der Hellanodike dem jungen Asopichos ins Haar"[61]. There may be a secondary referencce to the idea that homage 'raises up' the victor and his city (as is suggested by Gild.): cf. *O.* 9, 19-20 στεφάνων ἄωτοι κλυτὰν Λοκρῶν ἐπαείροντι ματέρα, *I.* 1, 64-5 εὐφώνων πτερύγεσσιν ἀερθέντ' ἀγλααῖς Πιερίδων[62]. I do not believe that the representation of Nike as a winged figure has anything to do with our passage (as is assumed by Farn., Conw., Osmun, 7), for her wings symbolize the quickness of her arrival and departure: cf. *KP* IV, 101.2 ff.[63].

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[61] Wil. (267 n. 2) thinks that the victors "die einzelnen Reiser, στέφανοι, aufrecht ins Haar stecken", but this could hardly be called στέφανος. For Pindar's use of kennings cf. I. Waern, *Γῆς ὀστέα. The Kenning in pre-Christian Greek Poetry* (Uppsala 1951), 84-5, 123-5.

[62] Carne-Ross (192) compares *P.* 8, 34 ἐμᾷ ποτανὸν ἀμφὶ μαχανᾷ and *N.* 7, 22 ποτανᾷ μαχανᾷ, but there the reference is to the poet's power to spread fame.

[63] Del Grande (above, n. 25), 116 writes: "in πτεροῖσι vedo qualcosa di prossimo agli ἔπεα πτερόεντα ... il κῦδος, 'la gloria' che la vittoria apporta, passa di bocca in bocca, diffondendosi d'un subito, come in un volo". But ἔπεα πτερόεντα never refer to spreading fame. He further suggests (117) that Echo had to *fly* to Hades and that "piena l'anima di questa immagine, naturale poté venire al poeta il πτεροῖσι dell' ultimo verso". But did the poet imagine the victor to crown himself with Echo's feathers? Osmun (7-8) here, too, gives his imagination free play: "psychologically wings also signify something transitory and evanescent" (in n. 6 he refers to *I.* 5, 63 πτερόεντα ὕμνον, as if Pindar would have regarded his song as something evanescent!)" ... "Just as the ribbons are interwoven into Asopichus' garland, so the words of the metaphor are entwined in a complicated structure" ... "Perhaps it is not too forced to maintain that the words 'crowned' and 'feathers' also suggest the jagged, fir-trimmed shore-line of the Pisatan coast".

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